

The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

VOL. II.—NO. 21.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER, 26 1868.

WHOLE NO. 47.

The Revolution.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, \$2 A YEAR.

NEW YORK CITY SUBSCRIPTIONS, \$2.50.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.
PARKER PILLSBURY, }
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PETITION FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

[EVERY person receiving a copy of this petition is earnestly desired to put it in immediate and thorough circulation for signatures, and return it signed, to the office of the Woman's Suffrage Association of America, 37 Park Row, Room 20, New York.]

To the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress Assembled:

The undersigned citizens of the State of — earnestly but respectfully request, that in any change or amendment of the Constitution you may propose, to extend or regulate Suffrage, there shall be no distinction made between men and women.

NAMES. | NAMES.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR SOME

UNDER this head the Newburg News has some strictures on the course of the Republican party that are not devoid of truth or justice. It says:

Now, cry the radical papers and especially the New York Tribune, in congratulating the country on the election of Gen. Grant—now we will have equal rights all over the Union.

Suffrage, the radicals claim, should be universal; and yet Horace Greeley, when on the suffrage committee in the New York Constitutional Convention, wrote a lengthy report against opening the franchise so that females could vote. At the same time this philosopher was trying to persuade the American people that the descendants of barbarous and superstitious Africans were fitted for this privilege because they were of the male sex. The plain inference is that the radical party want "no distinction in regard to color," but that all difference should be made when we reach the minor point of sex. Women are higher in the scale of morality than men, be they white or black. It can not be supposed that females would assist in enacting worse laws than are on the statute books. Women are quite as well acquainted with theories of government as the other sex, and, although we do not believe they would generally or in mass, "live up to their privileges," if the right of vote should be conceded them, yet this is no reason for denying it to the sex.

A great many other democratic papers talk just in this way, and as we do not doubt the sincerity of republican editors who seem thus favorable to equal rights for women, why should we be charged with favoring the democratic party, because we accept aid from them? Or why should we join the republicans in denouncing them as dishonest and insincere when they lend us a helping hand?

ECONOMICAL VOTING.—The papers say one of the rich iron miners in Pennsylvania has been in the habit on election days of having his hands driven in a wagon to the polls, and then without giving them the trouble to get out of the wagon, he handing in their votes himself, giving their names as he did so, thus: "This is Peter Hummel's vote; this is Jacob Miller's vote; this is Casper Weber's vote," and so on until he had voted for all in the wagon. The wagon was then sent off for a fresh load, and when it arrived the same ceremony was gone through with them.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS.

It is quite impossible to give readers any adequate idea of the daily reminders of the need that women should hold a different relation to labor from that which they now occupy. Our hearts are constantly made to bleed with sympathy for the unfortunates who, unprotected and alone, are obliged to struggle for a livelihood against difficulties with which no man in this enlightened, free country has to contend; but which would make a stout man's heart quail. Women tenderly nurtured in girlhood, and afterwards kindly fostered in the cooing arms of the husband, with no exercise of those faculties, or cultivation of those abilities which would enable them to stand alone and win their way in the world—left widowed, helpless, alone, or with little children to care for and support; wives, with invalid, unfortunate, or unworthy husbands failing to fulfill the duty of providing for them and their children, forced to perform the duties of both father and mother; young girls with widowed mothers, and families of young children dependent on them for shelter, clothes, and daily bread, all these come to us, asking for employment or advice in regard to obtaining it. If we had a fund as large as that of the richest Benevolent Society in the land, we could appropriate every cent of it, well and wisely, in relieving immediate necessities, or in opening avenues of employment to noble, capable women who are now either eating the bread of carelessness, or suffering actual want.

There is great need in our city of some central depot for the handiwork of women, where samples of embroidery, plain sewing, wood-carving, engraving, wax work, photograph painting, water-color and oil painting, with the name and residence of the work-woman or artist, may be seen; and where ladies may apply for and find competent help in every line of feminine industry. We hope the time is not far distant when we shall have such a place in connection with our Working Women's Association, and that the generous and noble hearted, not only in one state, but in the whole country, will assist us in establishing it.

We have lately had several calls from a young lady whose case has interested us so much that we cannot refrain from giving some account of her to our readers, and endeavoring to interest them in her behalf. Miss C. is a wood-carver, executing with her pen-knife very beautiful and artistic work. She also makes passe-par-touts of various sizes and styles. By this means she supports an infirm, widowed mother and two young sisters, one of whom is a cripple. This girl has in various ways shown unusual prudence and energy for one so young. She found it impossible in the city to keep her little family above actual want, so she went out into the country, found a small cottage with garden attached, moved her invalid dependents from the crowded city tenement into the snug little country home. Here, beside plying her craft, she raises small fruits and vegetables enough to

add materially to the comfort of her family, and by her thrift and forethought finds many ways of shedding brightness into the saddened lives of her dear ones. Not an easy life does this young girl have, going from house to house, from shop to shop trying to sell her wares—frequently trying the whole long day without making a cent. Undoubtedly she is out of her sphere, and has no business to be “peddling” for a living. Women are to be protected and cared for by men. If she has not a father she ought to have one. If her mother did not bear sons it is her own fault. Anyhow, since the girl has neither father nor brothers, let her marry. If she isn't conjugally inclined, no matter, it is more respectable to marry (?) for a home than to work. Perhaps no man asks her to marry him. Well, here is a quandary—it isn't the thing, you know, for a lady to “propose.” Let her dawdle then, and simper, and wait till some man does ask her; perhaps he will if she is viney and toney, not strong-minded or willing to work for herself and those she imagines God has thrown upon her care.

In the meantime, however, we should like to help this mistaken girl to meet the “struggle for life” she must have during the long cold winter before her. We have at our office specimens of her work, and shall be glad to take orders for passe-par-touts, wood-carvings, such as small easels for engravings or cabinet paintings, book-rests, and card-de-visite frames, the price of which will be found as reasonable as that of the same style of goods elsewhere.

H. M. S.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

BY MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT—1790.

CHAPTER XII.

ON NATIONAL EDUCATION.

THIS train of reasoning brings me back to a subject on which I mean to dwell, the necessity of establishing proper day-schools.

But these should be national establishments, for whilst school masters are dependent on the caprice of parents, little exertion can be expected from them, more than is necessary to please ignorant people. Indeed, the necessity of a master giving the parents some sample of the boy's abilities, which during the vacation, is shown to every visiter, is productive of more mischief than would at first be supposed. For they are seldom done entirely, to speak with moderation, by the child itself; thus the master countenances falsehoods, or winds the poor machine up to some extraordinary exertion, that injures the wheels, and stops the progress of gradual improvement. The memory is loaded with unintelligible words to make a show of, without the understanding's acquiring any distinct ideas: but only that education deserves emphatically to be termed cultivation of mind, which teaches young people how to begin to think. The imagination should not be allowed to debauch the understanding before it gained strength, or vanity will become the forerunner of vice; for every way of exhibiting the acquirements of a child is injurious to its moral character.

How much time is lost in teaching them to recite what they do not understand! whilst seated on benches, all in their best array, the mammas listen with astonishment to the parrot-like prattle, uttered in solemn cadences,

with all the pomp of ignorance and folly. Such exhibitions only serve to strike the spreading fibres of vanity through the whole mind; for they neither teach children to speak fluently, nor behave gracefully. So far from it, that these frivolous pursuits might comprehensively be termed the study of affectation; for we now rarely see a simple, bashful boy, though few people of taste were ever disgusted by that awkward sheepishness so natural to the age, which schools and an early introduction into society have changed into impudence and apish grimace.

Yet, how can these things be remedied whilst schoolmasters depend entirely on parents for a subsistence? and when so many rival schools hang out their lures to catch the attention of vain fathers and mothers, whose parental affection only leads them to wish that their children should outshine those of their neighbors?

Without great good luck, a sensible, conscientious man would starve before he could raise a school, if he disdained to bubble weak parents, by practicing the secret tricks of the craft.

In the best regulated schools, however, where swarms are crammed together, many bad habits must be acquired; but, at common schools, the body, heart, and understanding, are equally stunted, for parents are often only in quest of the cheapest school, and the master could not live, if he did not take a much greater number than he could manage himself; nor will the scanty pittance allowed for each child permit him to hire ushers sufficient to assist in the discharge of the mechanical part of the business. Besides, whatever appearance the house and garden may make, the children do not enjoy the comforts of either, for they are continually reminded, by irksome restrictions, that they are not at home, and the state-rooms, garden, etc., must be kept in order for the recreation of the parents, who, of a Sunday, visit the school, and are impressed by the very parade that renders the situation of their children uncomfortable.

With what disgust have I heard sensible women, for girls are more restrained and cowed than boys, speak of the wearisome confinement which they endured at school. Not allowed, perhaps, to step out of one broad walk in a superb garden, and obliged to pace with steady deportment stupidly backwards and forwards, holding up their heads, and turning out their toes, with shoulders braced back, instead of bounding, as nature directs to complete her own design, in the various attitudes so conducive to health. The pure animal spirits, which make both mind and body shoot out, and unfold the tender blossoms of hope are turned sour, and vented in vain wishes, or pert repinings, that contract the faculties and spoil the temper; else they mount to the brain and, sharpening the understanding before it gains proportionable strength, produce that pitiful cunning which disgracefully characterizes the female mind—and I fear will ever characterize it whilst women remain the slaves of power.

The little respect which the male world pay to chastity is, I am persuaded, the grand source of many of the physical and moral evils that torment mankind, as well as of the vices and follies that degrade and destroy women; yet at school, boys infallibly lose that decent bashfulness which might have ripened into modesty at home.

I have already animadverted on the bad habits which females acquire when they are shut up

together; and I think that the observation may fairly be extended to the other sex, till the natural inference is drawn, which I have in view throughout—that to improve both sexes they ought, not only in private families, but in public schools, to be educated together. If marriage be the cement of society, mankind should all be educated after the same model, or the intercourse of the sexes will never deserve the name of fellowship, nor will women ever fulfil the peculiar duties of their sex, till they become enlightened citizens, till they become free, by being enabled to earn their own subsistence, independent of men; in the same manner, I mean to prevent misconstruction, as one man is independent of another. Nay, marriage will never be held sacred till women, by being brought up with men, are prepared to be their companions, rather than their mistresses; for the mean doublings of cunning will ever render them contemptible, whilst oppression renders them timid. So convinced am I of this truth, that I will venture to predict that virtue will never prevail in society till the virtues of both sexes are founded on reason; and till the affections common to both are allowed to gain their due strength by the discharge of mutual duties.

Were boys and girls permitted to pursue the same studies together, those graceful decencies might early be inculcated which produce modesty, without these sexual distinctions that taint the mind. Lessons of politeness, and that formulary of decorum which treads on the heels of falsehood, would be rendered useless by habitual propriety of behavior. Not, indeed, put on for visitors like the courtly robe of politeness, but the sober effect of cleanliness of mind. Would not this simple elegance of sincerity be a chaste homage paid to domestic affections, far surpassing the meretricious compliments that shine with false lustre in the heartless intercourse of fashionable life? But, till more understanding preponderate in society, there will ever be a want of heart and taste, and the harlot's *rogue* will supply the place of that celestial suffusion which only virtuous affections can give to the face. Gallantry, and what is called love, may subsist without simplicity of character; but the main pillars of friendship are respect and confidence—esteem is never founded on—it cannot tell what.

A taste for the fine arts requires great cultivation; but not more than a taste for the virtuous affections: and both suppose that enlargement of mind which opens so many sources of mental pleasure. Why do people hurry to noisy scenes and crowded circles? I should answer, because they want activity of mind, because they have not cherished the virtues of the heart. They only, therefore, see and feel in the gross, and continually pine after variety; finding everything that is simple, insipid.

This argument may be carried further than philosophers are aware of, for if nature destined woman, in particular, for the discharge of domestic duties, she made her susceptible of the attached affections in a great degree. Now women are notoriously fond of pleasure; and naturally must be so, according to my definition, because they cannot enter into the minutiae of domestic taste; lacking judgment, the foundation of all taste. For the understanding, in spite of sensual cavillers, reserves to itself the privilege of conveying pure joy to the heart.

With what a languid yawn have I seen an admirable poem thrown down, that a man of true taste returns to, again and again, with rapture

and, whilst melody has almost suspended respiration, a lady has asked me where I bought my gown. I have seen also an eye glanced coldly over a most exquisite picture, rest, sparkling with pleasure, on a caricature rudely sketched; and whilst some terrific feature in nature has spread a sublime stillness through my soul, I have been desired to observe the pretty tricks of a lap-dog, that my perverse fate forced me to travel with. It is surprising that such a tasteless being should rather caress this dog than her children? Or, that she should prefer the rant of flattery to the simple accents of sincerity?

To illustrate this remark I must be allowed to observe, that men of the first genius and most cultivated minds have appeared to have the highest relish for the simple beauties of nature; and they must have forcibly felt, what they have so well described, the charm which natural affections, and unsophisticated feelings spread round the human character. It is this power of looking into the heart and responsively vibrating with each emotion, that enables the poet to personify each passion, and the painter to sketch with a pencil of fire.

True taste is ever the work of the understanding employed in observing natural effects; and till women have more understanding, it is vain to expect them to possess domestic taste. Their lively senses will ever be at work to harden their hearts, and the emotions struck out of them will continue to be vivid and transitory, unless a proper education stores their minds with knowledge.

It is the want of domestic taste, and not the acquirement of knowledge, that takes women out of their families, and tears the smiling babe from the breast that ought to afford it nourishment. Women have been allowed to remain in ignorance and slavish dependence many, very many years, and still we hear of nothing but their fondness of pleasure and sway, their preference of rakes and soldiers, their childish attachment to toys, and the vanity that makes them value accomplishments more than virtues.

History brings forward a fearful catalogue of the crimes which their cunning has produced, when the weak slaves have had sufficient address to overreach their masters. In France, and in how many other countries have men been the luxurious despots and women the crafty ministers? Does this prove that ignorance and dependence domesticate them? Is not their folly the by-word of the libertines, who relax in their society; and do not men of sense continually lament that an immoderate fondness for dress and dissipation carries the mother of a family far ever from home? Their hearts have not been debauched by knowledge, nor their minds led astray by scientific pursuits; yet, they do not fulfil the peculiar duties which, as women, they are called upon by nature to fulfil. On the contrary, the state of warfare which subsists between the sexes makes them employ those wiles, that frustrate the more open designs of force.

When, therefore, I call women slaves, I mean in a political and civil sense; for, indirectly they obtain too much power, and are debased by their exertions to obtain illicit sway.

Let an enlightened nation then try what effect reason would have to bring them back to nature, and their duty; and allowing them to share the advantages of education and government with man, see whether they will become better, as they grow wiser and become free. They cannot be injured by the experiment;

for it is not in the power of man to render them more insignificant than they are at present.

To render this practicable, day schools for particular ages should be established by government, in which boys and girls might be educated together. The school for the younger children, from five to nine years of age, ought to be absolutely free and open to all classes.* A sufficient number of masters should also be chosen a select committee, in each parish, to whom any complaint of negligence, etc., might be made, if signed by six of the children's parents.

Ushers would then be unnecessary: for, I believe, experience will ever prove that this kind of subordinate authority is particularly injurious to the morals of youth. What, indeed, can tend to deprave the character more than outward submission and inward contempt? Yet, how can boys be expected to treat an usher with respect when the master seems to consider him in the light of a servant, and almost to countenance the ridicule which becomes the chief amusement of the boys during the play hours.

But nothing of this kind could occur in an elementary day-school, where boys and girls, the rich and poor, should meet together. And to prevent any of the distinctions of vanity, they should be dressed alike, and all obliged to submit to the same discipline, or leave the school. The school-room ought to be surrounded by a large piece of ground, in which the children might be usefully exercised, for at this age they should not be confined to any sedentary employment for more than an hour at a time. But these relaxations might all be rendered a part of elementary education, for many things improve and amuse the senses when introduced as a kind of show, to the principles of which, dryly laid down, children would turn a deaf ear. For instance, botany, mechanics, and astronomy. Reading, writing, arithmetic, natural history, and some simple experiments in natural philosophy, might fill up the day; but these pursuits should never encroach on gymnastic plays in the open air. The elements of religion, history, the history of man, and politics, might also be taught, by conversations in the socratic form.

(To be Continued.)

* Treating this part of the subject, I have borrowed some hints from a very sensible pamphlet written by the late bishop of Autun on Public Education.

A SERMON.—Such is the heading the New Bedford (Mass.) *Standard* gives to the following, for the truth of which it says a friend vouches:

Recently two ladies passing through a street in this city were attracted by a woman at the door of a house, looking anxiously up and down the street. She soon went in, when immediately the agonized cry of a child came from the house. The ladies, after some hesitation, went into the house, where a most appalling sight met their eyes. The woman whom they had previously noticed was lying on the floor, upon some straw, in the pains of child birth, and a little child was crying bitterly at the mother's distress. The room was nearly bare of furniture—cheerless, comfortless. At once the ladies procured relief for the unfortunate woman, and subsequently learned her story. Within a year her husband, who had previously reformed his intemperate habits, relapsed into drunkenness. Piece by piece he had sold the furniture and bedding to satisfy his appetite, and for twenty-four hours before her sickness the woman and child had not had a particle of food.

What if a woman through drunkenness were making such havoc of home and household happiness! Wouldn't the welkin ring again with the story?

SECOND LETTER ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

From Putnam's Monthly for December.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER: You say to me, in reply to my last, that the case, for the present and the future, does look very much as I have stated it, but that the whole past history of woman seems to contradict the idea that she was intended by God to take that place in the management of affairs which reason and common sense now suggest; at least, that your mind demands some solution of the problem of her non-entity during past ages, before you can step resolutely forward in the newer way now pointed out to her.

To this I reply, that it is true, certainly, that women have been not only greatly dependent upon men during all these years, but subject to them, and in nowise the master-minds of the world, so far as it appears; but it is difficult to see how this could have been otherwise during a period of physical supremacy. Considering the disabilities she was under, by reason of the pains and cares incident to her motherhood, it is not surprising that she should call for protection, in days of violence, and that man should best express his regard for her by assuming the office of protector. If he had been a perfect man, he would have accepted and used this office as a privilege, rather than a right, and have seen to it that these mothers were well cared for, in every respect, while abiding in their nests, just as the father-bird, with cheerful assiduity, ministers to his mate during her periods of confinement and seclusion from the leafy world. And since these human mothers had mental needs as well as physical, the fathers, had they been the perfect men we have supposed, would have brought to them all the means of culture that came to themselves, and cheerfully shared with them their soul's food as well as their crust of daily bread; and by degrees this culture would have taught women that there were many ways by which they themselves could add to the family wealth, without neglecting in the least any family duty. The two thus brought together as partners and fellow-workers, as well as parents, would have had a common motive for making the most judicious expenditure of their united gains for the comfort of the whole household. But these men were not only imperfect themselves, but they ministered to equally imperfect women; and while they, by reason of their strong arms and broad use of the world at large, were tempted to become headstrong and domineering, their wives and mothers were equally tempted to make their need of protection a ground for unthinking dependence: and since the acquisition of knowledge required serious exertion, and man was best pleased with women without it, she easily surrendered to him the fresh springs of knowledge which his industry was from time to time discovering.

This is a dark picture for woman, certainly, and unattractive; because we all instinctively admire strength wherever we find it—whether in a strong right-arm or an active brain. The conqueror has usually carried the day over the conquered, in all past history, let the virtues of the vanquished be what they may. But there are several modifications of the above picture, which are generally overlooked, and which go far toward restoring our respect for these apparently feeble creatures, who seem to have resigned both their bodies and souls to the control of man. In the first place they have had no

written history as yet; the trumpet being in the hands of man, he has naturally enough used it to sound his own conquests; and these have filled the pages of history. To the eye of God and over-watching angels, no doubt, there has ever been a supplemental page to these many-volumed records; and therein are noted heart-triumphs and victories of spirit among women, which rank them high among the great ones of the earth, and make them mates indeed of their wedded ones, however exalted in name or station. And by reason of this moral growth-gained through sorrow and submission, they have really made greater intellectual progress than is at first apparent; since the activities of the heart not only lead the way to knowledge, but are to some extent, knowledge itself. Many a poor slave has found his way to a deeper insight of God's own truths than his most instructed master; and these are the high things, which, to know, is life eternal; and we have the assurance of one of the wisest men of ancient times, that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."

And, once more, this servitude has not, after all, been so complete and so debasing as at first sight might appear; because these women have been, all along, the mothers of these men, and their power over them, through their mutual affections, and quite aside from that of *endowment*, has been very great and very elevating to both parties. This power of motherhood has not been sufficient, as we have seen, to stem the tide of man's selfishness, and compel him to share his advantages with woman, whose disabilities of body have prevented her seeking them for herself; nor to save him from a love of domination, that brought to him as great injury as to her; but it has always been a real power, nevertheless; and when the true history of mankind lies before our eyes, either in this world or the next, we shall recognize it as the great civilizer of the human race—the divinest agency, indeed, by which it has been preserved from utter destruction. All this is dimly foreshadowed in that solemn word of prophecy, uttered in the infancy of a race to whom sin was an experiment and its curse a blessing in disguise. "Cursed be the ground for thy sake, O man—in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." "Thy desire shall be unto thy husband, O woman, and he shall rule over thee." What are these but epitomized history, as it lay spread out before Him with whom there is neither beginning nor ending, and whose great heart of love had already conceived that grand restoration implied in the bruising of the serpent's head by "the seed of the woman?"

Toil to man and subjection to woman; bitter experiences these—curses truly, but regenerative, nevertheless; and at last a Deliverer, the Son of a Virgin Mother, whose exulting song, "From henceforth all nations shall call me blessed," was but a vibration of the chord touched in Paradise itself.

Welcome, then, blessed privilege of motherhood, with all thy anguish, care, and sorrow; in thee, at last, lies the purification of our race, and abundant compensation for ages of suffering and subjection and an unwritten history; not only because of thy Son, "who taketh away the sins of the world," but because of thine own innermost power of sympathy by which thou subduest all hearts to thyself. Let no man fear, then, to trust to woman the guidance of her own life in all the ages to come. He who condescended to be born of her, knew well the sanctuary of her heart, wrought by His own word of power

and into which He also must enter, and that it would be to His human nature, as to all the race of man, the Holy of Holies, out of which sanctifying influences must forever flow. Accordingly, we find that the child Jesus, while "increasing in wisdom and stature and in favor with God and man," was still subject unto his parents, and that his anxious but reverent mother "kept all his sayings and pondered them in her heart,"—wherein she but led the way by which all mothers, in all times, may hope to come to the knowledge of all truth, both that which pertains to this life and also to that which is to come.

Following, then, the history of Christian civilization, which, by every showing, had its beginning in the advent of our Lord, inasmuch that the years themselves are called by His name, I come to this conclusion: that a national government whose legislation and executive functions are performed by men alone, has not yet fully emerged from the barbarism of ancient times, and has before it a work of regeneration as serious as any that has marked its progress since the organization of nationalities.

Let me illustrate. Families governed by fathers alone, or mothers alone, are less likely to be well governed than those where their joint authority controls. Boys need the mental and moral influence of mothers, and girls of fathers, that their respective natures may be developed to a full and harmonious completeness. Just so a nation needs a governing power which shall represent the thought and feeling of both men and women; and the same infelicities must attend a national government, by one sex alone, that would attend such a family government. Is it not after the slow but sure fashion of the family, that God is training the world to a right understanding of true national glory and happiness? Christianity first introduced to man the doctrine of individual liberty and individual responsibility; and the two are indissolubly connected; so that a woman who has come to desire the fullest freedom of thought and action for herself, must, whether she will or not, accept the divinely-appointed and correlative responsibilities of a free moral agent; and no man can attempt to limit her activities in any direction, without assuming a prerogative of Deity itself. "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

How vital and integral a part of early Christian teaching this idea of personal freedom was, is remarkably illustrated to my mind by the direct results of it, in ameliorating the condition of women during these eighteen hundred years now past. Missionaries in heathen lands are never weary of calling upon the women of all Christian countries, to rejoice over their emancipation from bondage, and are full of narrations of the degrading customs still prevailing among the people they are trying to Christianize. But every step in this onward way has been one of hesitation on the part of woman, and the subject of ridicule and opposition on the part of man; and I now suppose that this sense of modesty, which is to keep a woman from going to the polls, or performing any public duty, is the same thing that led her to shrink from appearing unveiled in the presence of any man save her own lord and master, in the sanctuary of his harem! But the years will be few now before she shall have learned wiser discriminations and come to more ennobling judgments.

It is not, however, by reason of her virtues alone that woman should desire to take part in political government: she is a wrong-doer as well

as man; there are few crimes which she may and does not commit; and by every principle of justice and right feeling she ought to be tried by her peers—by a jury, one half of whom shall be of her own sex; and I have no hesitation in affirming that our court-rooms will find themselves honored rather than disgraced by the presence of women there, in the character of judges, counsel, and jurors, so long as women are liable to be brought there as culprits and litigants, or even as witnesses. Indeed, it is one of my chief hopes for the future that the day will come when men will choose to associate with themselves, in the performance of all the more perilous duties that have heretofore been assigned to them alone, their wives and mothers, who, by nature, are less tempted than themselves to serious defections from virtue. To mothers as well as fathers should be intrusted the management of those numberless cases of wrong-doing which call for moral legislation and penalty; and nothing will do more to hasten the day of moral purity than a general conviction that boys and young men should be taught to avoid as carefully sights and sounds of contamination as their young sisters, and that modesty is by no means an exclusively feminine virtue.

Once more you say to me that there does seem to be some force in the assertion, that if women would vote they should also fight; and I reply, once more, that in nothing is the dominance of the physical over the mental more shown than by that very argument, which, as you say, is usually the first that comes from the lips of all young men. And the force of it is this: one of the chief duties of man, and of governments made by men, is *war-making*—all things would go to ruin if that were not attended to; therefore women, who are not fighters by nature, should not aspire to government. No doubt this has been the case hitherto, and, therefore women have been, of necessity, less influential in upholding the hands of government than they are preparing to be in the future; because this power of force is rapidly giving way to the power of the spirit, wherein all have ever been equal before God, and are destined so to become in the sight and judgment of man.

But the true answer to those who think that a government has a right to withhold suffrage from women because they are not inclined to be soldiers, is this: that the duties belonging to the citizen are many and various, and should be required and fulfilled according to his or her superior capacity for the one or the other; and as certain classes of men are considered more valuable to the community in the capacity of clergymen, physicians, judges, etc., than in that of soldiers, and others are considered incapable of military duty by reason of age or infirmity, so, if the whole class of women are really thus disabled, or are needed in other capacities, the state is no sufferer by such apportionment, but shows its wisdom the rather by calling upon each child of the state to serve wherever he is most valuable.

It is to be said, moreover, that in these days of humanity, the sanitary department of war-making is scarcely less important than the fighting; and there can be no possible objection to committing the practical management of this to woman. Indeed, this has been done during our late war; and few would urge that she should not be enfranchised because of any failure in the performance of the very arduous duties there committed to her.

I seem to see much farther than this, how-

ever, and am prepared to say, that the day of unjust wars will never cease until women have a voice in deciding when war shall be undertaken and for what cause. It is a monstrous mistake to suppose that the burdens of men as soldiers will be increased when such power of decision has been placed in their hands. Every one of these women is daughter of some father, to say the least, and has, pretty surely, husband, brother, or lover, besides, to whom the call may come to arm himself for deadly fight; and this call brings greater anguish to her than to the hero who girds himself for battle. We all know how much easier it is to endure pain and encounter danger for ourselves alone, than to sit down quietly and see one, to whom our hearts cleave, going out into the darkness alone; and one of two things will certainly happen in the days to come in this land—either wars will be fewer, or women will insist on sharing the dangers and privations of them, more than ever they have done before, with those they love.

If you should suggest that many most unjust wars have had the sympathy of woman, and have even been greatly sustained by her, I reply that, upon examination, it will be found, I think, that in all these cases there was great ignorance of the true state of public affairs among the women, such as could never have existed had they been responsible law-makers themselves, or practically interested in questions pertaining to government and the general welfare of the state. Without some such stimulus and education as this implies, they have been and must forever be, so far as I can see, children of *passion* rather than of *reason*, and the appeal to arms will always strike such minds with less of dread and more of welcome than any other; just as uncultured nations have always rushed eagerly to battle, and disdained any other arbitrament than that of the sword. It is one of the boasts of modern civilization that wars are becoming less frequent under the influence of education and increased intelligence; and we read of the period when swords shall be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, with the accompanying conviction that it is the enlightened mind of universal man, led by the spirit of God, which is to usher in that glorious day.

But you will not, I trust, my child, conclude from all that I have said, that it is my opinion that when the right of suffrage is granted to women there will be an end to political troubles. So far from this being the case, I look with anxiety to the immediate results of such an experiment, and have only hope in the long future. And my hope is based on moral grounds purely, viz., the, to me, immutable doctrine, that personal responsibility is the best educative scheme that God himself has been able to devise for erring man. Starting with this, and allowing, as I think we must, that women constitute a large branch of the human family, I urge that they should be put upon their responsibilities anywhere and everywhere that human activities come in; and I see no place where a limitation could be made without relieving them by so much of an obligation that they owe to themselves, their families, and their God.

Look at the popular objection, that if women were voters this moment, the state of parties would remain the same, the numbers in them only being doubled. This might be so at first, perhaps, but soon that party most nearly representing justice and morality would certainly be the gainer. But suppose it were not so. What

I affirm is, that both parties and all parties, when made up of active men and women, will represent a higher grade of thought, feeling, and action than they now do. Granted that the men and women of a family will always vote alike, now and forever: the men will not vote precisely as they would have done had there not been an intelligent discussion of the principles of political and moral economy in the family; and thereby we have made the great gain of which I speak.

If you say, let the women influence the men in the right way and by the methods suggested, without actually becoming voters themselves, I reply, you call upon them to perform an impossibility. No human being ever goes thoughtfully, earnestly, into any investigation, out of which there is not to come either a *pleasure* or a *duty*. Look at men themselves, in this country, where the whole burden of government has lain upon them for near one hundred years—and of such a government, so founded, so maintained, and of such overwhelming importance to the interests of mankind—and how many of them are able to persuade themselves to give, on an average, one day in a month to the study of the principles of government, or even to active political duties? Not only so, but I have noticed, during the late war, when our election-days have seemed to me, at times, like judgment-days themselves, the fate of a nation hanging in the balance, as it were, that good and honest and well-meaning men went about their business with a calm forgetfulness that was enough to make one's blood boil; and were only in season to drop a ballot by virtue of the alertness of some more earnest brother. What I say, then, is this: if a man, who knows that the sole responsibility for active work rests upon him, cannot bring himself to much study of politics, nor even to a remembrance of his most obvious duties as a voter, how can you expect a woman, who has *nothing whatever to do with politics*, to keep herself posted on public affairs, and full of intelligent opinions upon them, simply because she may possibly have some influence over this absorbed and very indifferent man? But let her once understand that, when election-day comes, she has got to drop a ballot, for this cause or that, and this man or that, and she will at least ask some questions of father, husband, or brother, which he may find it difficult to answer; and so they may both be put on the search for the truth. If, by this asking, family discussion may be stirred and family dissension, even, introduced, God be thanked; for out of this may come a purification of this foul mire of politics, of which we hear so much, and which is driving from the field of action so many of our best men. "I came not to send peace," said our Master, "but a sword;" and there never was a great moral advance made by any less incisive method since the world begun.

Concluded next week.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONVENTION.—In the new Social Science Convention, Nov. 11th, in Chicago the Committee on organization reported the Rev. E. Beecher of Galesburgh, Illinois, for President, and the Rev. H. F. Wines of Springfield, Illinois, for Secretary. The papers read were "Woman's Place and Value in Society," by Dr. Gregory of Illinois Industrial University; "The Law of Increase of Population," by Dr. Allen of Lowell, Mass.; "The Problem of Domestic Science," by Robt. H. C. Wayland of Michigan University; "Lodging Houses for Women," by Mrs. Dall of Boston; "What

shall be done with the Insane of the West?" by Dr. McFarland of Illinois.

TO WORKING WOMEN.

WHAT'S the use of all this talk about visionary and impracticable things? Why don't you women take hold of something you can handle?" are the questions asked me numberless times each week. Martin Luther didn't fold his hands and cry out *peccavi* when endeavoring to inaugurate his noble work of reformation—because enemies misrepresented, and laughed him and his projects to scorn—and because lukewarm persons, pretending to be friends, tried in every way to hamper him with doubts and misgivings; urging the unpopularity accruing to all those who stride ahead and attempt to inaugurate some good work for humanity. Not at all. Now, I maintain, in the very first place, that this whole talk about the unfeasible or impossible, is the sheerest nonsense. Take, for instance, the "Working Woman's Association," and we shall see that the cause of its prominence, its success, and the general interest which the public are now manifesting, can be directly traced to the efforts of *one* woman, Miss Susan B. Anthony, who, regardless of sneers, impervious to all assaults from opposers or lukewarm friends (and these warm milk and water folks are dreadful pests), steered the bark Project safely into port; where it is now receiving cargo for a life voyage. Now this Association demands the attention of all womankind; and I am glad that it can show so good a record at this early stage of its formation.

"But I am *not* a working woman!" says one. You are not a working woman; what, then, are you? *Every* woman whose soul has kept pace with, or even followed, however distantly, in the triumphant march of progress, must, of necessity, be a working woman. You have a husband? You are shielded? You have money, and, like the "lilies of the field," can be arrayed without toiling or spinning. Shame on a woman who, after confessing her time all leisure, also confesses no interest in the welfare of her suffering, scantily paid, down-trodden sisters! Every whole-souled, large-hearted woman is a working woman, and if necessity does not compel her to work exclusively for herself and family, duty and inclination will keep her employed for those who most require her assistance. A false education, and the disposition to ape a snobbish aristocracy, are at the foundation of all this aversion to labor; and it is the duty of every member of this Association to stoutly combat these long-standing fallacies. We want more busy, earnest Marthas! Women who not only think it no disgrace to work—but women who are *compelled* to work to keep themselves and children from starving; women, too, who have the ability to speak and give an account of their own individual experiences; women with the iron burning into their own souls; and then we may not only dwell together in unity, but acting on the principle that "a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind," we can arouse by our sympathies the flagging energies of those who, through a perpetual series of discouragements, are tired of fighting the battle of life. If we may not always enjoy that fine interchange of thought and feeling, which a feast of reason, flow of soul, and a lunch at Delmonico's would bring us, we can do infinitely more with the good right hand of fellowship and experience. I am glad that our Sisters of the Sorosis are interesting themselves in this great work. Many of them have

raised themselves from the depths of poverty and misery to the avenues of ease, wealth, and fame, by the exercise of talents which, but for the great necessity of using, would have been forever hidden from mortal sight. Now let these women say of themselves what their biographers will be sure to say by and by. We must have active and energetic workers; those who are willing to attempt any and everything for the common good. Every member of the Association may be commissioned by the highest of all authorities, God and their own consciences. Not a few, who, though willing to labor in God's great vineyard, are extremely reticent when appealed to for some account of their own histories and experiences. Just as some persons with enormous wealth go stingily through life, and at death endow some charitable institution, making a name for their children to be proud of. Now I contend that a man's money is worth one hundred per cent. more during his life time than at his decease; that is, if that man be a benevolent, God-loving individual, and just in this proportion may we rank our experiences. Can you not see that when we are able to take a struggling sister by the hand, and say: "I, too, have waded through these waters; I, too, have been hungry and cold; my soul has been racked by the same agony that you are now enduring"—that we instil comfort into that fainting heart immediately; and then if we add the pecuniary assistance which should be our pleasure as well as duty, the result is wonderful. When suffering from physical torture, and apparently near death's door, how the flagging energies were aroused by a friend at our bedside, who said: "I was ill, just as you are, not long ago. It is hard to bear; but I recovered and so will you."

Patient, reticent, easy Marys are all very well for harmonizing and listening, but I fancy our Saviour's dinner would have been a very scant affair, had it not been for the earnest, energetic Martha, and then when we remember that Christ is the type of an extremely small class, that most of the men and women with whom we are now thrown into contact must (because needing) prefer a piece of beefsteak to a pot of ointment, we can understand why the nineteenth century is not in especial need of women who are so exquisitely constructed as to have little interest in the temporal and practical. We want workers, and thinkers, and, more than all, that sympathy which springs from a keen appreciation and experience of suffering.

"Don't say anything about Female Suffrage," said a prominent New York lady to me one day not long since. "If that plank can be kept out of the platform of the Working Woman's Association, its success will be brilliant and immediate."

That made me laugh, and I said to her as I say to you: "When Susan B. Anthony leaves that plank out of any platform, constitution, or by-laws she is instrumental in forming, it will be when Susan is in a state of coma; for if there be anything in spiritualism, her death even would not interfere with this the best and dearest of all her projects for female emancipation. While all thinking women must be perfectly aware that Suffrage is the great underlying principle of every philanthropic movement, that without it all measures for equal distribution of labor and remuneration will be utterly abortive, they will, I think, cling to Susan and suffrage, notwithstanding the fact that a few slaves in all ages have been known to declare that they had all the rights they desired."

ELEANOR KIRK.

WOMAN'S CAUSE IN GERMANY.

FROBEN, November, 1868.

Editors of the Revolution:

I SEND you translations from a daily newspaper, *Die Zukunft*, published in Berlin, Prussia, and from a weekly, published by W. Liebknecht a friend of mine in Leipzig, *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*. The latter being the best paper I have seen, should be read, if possible, by the editors of the best paper in the U. S., which I recommend of course everywhere. Yours truly,

SIGFRIED MEYER.

From "Die Zukunft" [The Future], Berlin, Sept. 26th.

TRANSLATION.

The Woman's Right of Suffrage found a new argument in Gordon's "Antiquities of Parliament." The ladies of rank and education sat in the council of the Wittenagemote (a kind of parliament of the Saxons in England). The Abbess Hilda says (Bede) presided at an ecclesiastical synod. In Wighfred's grand council at Bevoorneld, A. D. 694, the Abbesses sat and consulted about state affairs; five of them, together with the King, the bishops and the noblemen, signed the decrees of this council. King Edgar's charter to the Abbey of Crowland, A. D. 961, was given with the consent of the noblemen and of the Abbesses.

During the reign of Henrich III. and Edward I. four Abbesses, those of Shaftesbury, Berking, St. Mary of Wilchester and Winton were called into the parliament. In the 35th year of the reign of King Edward III., Mary, countess of Norfolk, Alienor, countess of Ormond, Anna Dispenser, Philippe, countess of Marh, Jane Fitzwater, Agnette, countess of Pembroke, Mary de St. Paul, Mary de Roos, Matilda, countess of Oxford, and Katharine, countess of Athol, were called into the parliament *ad colloquium tractatum* and invested with the privilege of peer. So John Timbs narrates in his "Things Not Generally Known."

From "Demokratisches" Wochenblatt, Oct. 31, 1868.

LONDON, Sept. 28.

The women cause much trouble to the officers of the parish and to the barristers. A controversy has arisen if the word "man" excludes the single women from the qualification to vote. Both parties maintaining to be in the right, everybody entitled to do or say anything, acts as he likes. In Manchester, where many old maids and widows live, possessing furnished houses, the letting out of which gives a livelihood to themselves, the officers of parish had registered not less than five thousand women, about which the revising officer has to give his opinion. The revising officer of Leeds has fined a possessor of a house 10s "because she dares to claim a vote," while a barrister of London made a speech of two hours to prove that single women, having property, are entitled to vote. He proved from old acts of parliament that women have had seat and vote in parliament.

VALUABLE GIFT.

We are indebted to Mr. J. P. Mendum, of the Boston *Investigator*, for two elegant and valuable engravings that now decorate the walls of "THE REVOLUTION" office. One is a portrait, and an excellent likeness, of Mrs. Ernestine J. Rose of this city; the other of the once well-known Frances Wright, an eminent philanthropist and reformer, and one of the most accomplished scholars and writers of her time. Accompanying the latter picture, Mr. Mendum sends the following:

BOSTON, Nov. 10, 1868.

MISS ANTHONY: I send you, to-day, a lithograph of Frances Wright, and hope it may reach you safely, and serve to awaken the minds and hearts of those who look upon it, and ask who "Frances Wright" was, and what she did, not only for women, but for her race? The pulpit and the press vied with each other, thirty years ago, as to which could bestow on that noble woman the most abuse. Times have changed, and people do not so much as in by-gone days look reverently to these two great instruments for good or evil. Happy will it be for the world, when truth and falsehood are left freely to combat each other.

Respectfully,

J. P. MENDUM.

MRS. NELLIE CHASE, of Topeka, Kansas, will be a candidate before the next Legislature for Enrolling Clerk of the House.

NOTES FROM THE LECTURING FIELD.

DE WITT, Iowa, Oct. 30th, 1868.

Editors of the Revolution:

It being necessary for me, about three weeks since, to pass through Galesburg, Ill., and knowing the Beecher family had the reputation of being liberal and progressive in their views, I thought I would call upon Dr. Edward Beecher of that place to not only interest him in "THE REVOLUTION," but learn whether it would be probable I could have the use of his church in which to deliver a lecture upon the "Emancipation of Woman."

After telling him that four weeks previous I had the Methodist church, his first interrogation was—"Did you have it free of charge?" Telling him I did, he asked if I were working on my own responsibility and if my lectures were free. After satisfying him on this point, and adding that I was acting as agent for "THE REVOLUTION," he inquired if that was the paper that had been favoring the democratic party. I told him it favored neither party—that it thought both parties were so corrupt that neither of them was fit to be trusted with the interests of the nation—that politics had become a system of gambling, and unless a third party should arise, embodying sufficient moral power to lift it into the world of morals, our country would share the fate of every republic that had preceded it. To which Mr. Beecher replied, "to thus, with one sweep, denounce the great body politic as shamefully corrupt, was taking upon one's self a great responsibility." I told him when I spoke of political corruption I applied my remarks to the rulers and not the people—that the masses of the people in both parties meant well. He said the people in the republican party meant well, but in the democratic, they did not. I told him that my observation and experience had convinced me that all men, regardless of the party to which they lent their support, desired to have honest men in office—men who had at heart and would work for the interest of the people; but so long as a few mercenary, ambitious, selfish men, who, convened in the caucus rooms, controlled the votes of the people, bribery, fraud and corruption—crime of every shade and character would be sustained and protected by law—that the people, instead of finding in their rulers faithful friends and protectors, would find in them their most dangerous enemies. I told him there was evidently something "rotten in Denmark," when, by a few years sitting in the U. S. Senate, poor men became independently wealthy, and facts proved that republican officials, in this respect, were equally as guilty as democratic.

That any one should have the audacity to class republicans and democrats in the same category as equally criminal and corrupt, seemed to rouse Mr. Beecher almost to anger. Compare, he says, the platforms of the two parties, their position, for instance, upon the Financial question, adding, "the republican platform was one of principle." Here I casually remarked that Thad. Stevens did not think so. Almost rudely Mr. B. observed, "that's a great way to reply to a statement like that—Thad. Stevens is dead" (as though the truth be uttered died with him)—immediately following my example by saying, in a derisive tone, "Ben Butler don't think so either." Whereupon I told him I thought the Chicago platform entirely devoid of principle—that it dodged the Finance and Suffrage questions both, the two great issues of the hour.

He differed with me, saying he thought it was very explicit upon the Finance question—that it declared the intention of the party to meet all our obligations according to the original contract.

Asking him what he understood that contract to be, he said the contract was, that the interest upon all the bonds should be paid in gold, and of a portion of them the principle also should be, and the principle of the rest be paid in coin (suppose he meant gold or silver.) I told him I did not so understand it, but that I had given the Finance question but little thought, but when I heard politicians assert that in order to pay our debt in greenbacks, the country would have to be inflated with that kind of currency, it always puzzled me to understand how then it could be paid in gold; but the national banking system I thought I understood sufficiently to justify myself in denouncing it as a scheme concocted by Congressional speculators to enrich the rich and impoverish the poor.

He told me he would not give three cents for my opinions—asked me if I thought by a few months' investigation I was fit to teach the people upon a great question like Finance.

I told him I confined my lectures strictly to the subject of Woman Suffrage—that I never had but once

in public said anything upon the Financial question—that my opinion upon Finance was expressed in conversations with individuals.

But he replied, "you say you are an agent for 'The Revolution,' and are doing all you can to increase its circulation." I told him very emphatically that such was the case. Then, said he, I shall use my influence against your having the church. Very well, I told him that I would not yield or misrepresent my opinion upon a great question like this if I had no room to speak in—that upon no consideration would I be guilty of lending what little influence I might have in support of the principles of the Chicago platform. He said persons might make up their minds that the moon was made of green cheese and make a matter of conscience of it. I told him I agreed with him there, but he did not seem to realize that one individual was as liable to be deceived in this way as another, or he would not have asserted that for an individual or a journal to lend its influence against the carrying out of the principles declared in the platform of the republican party was a sin against God and their country; and, furthermore, that the national banking system was perfectly adapted to the wants of the people, neither would he have passed judgment upon "The Revolution" without ever having seen a copy of the paper.

Much more of similar controversy was indulged in, during which his whole bearing indicated that he thought me some young, ignorant woman, unknown and unheard of, who was ambitious to be known in some way or other, and had chosen lecturing upon "Woman's Rights" as the shortest road to notoriety. And I did not so much wonder at his conclusions, for when I came into his presence, his coolness and austerity, and knowing his name was Beecher, I felt very much as Gulliver said he did when he found himself on an unknown island, surrounded by men and women sixty feet high; and, judging from my feeling while there, I presume I expressed myself as bunglingly as I felt confused and inferior. Yet, after all, when out of the house and after shedding a few tears, I could but think of a saying of Gerrit Smith's, "that to be able to adapt our conversation to children, so as to entertain and interest them, is the surest evidence of greatness."

Mr. Beecher seemed to think that age and years of thought were requisite to thoroughly understand the principles of Finance.

Mr. Beecher has evidently never reflected that money is only the representative of labor, and no man has a just right to any more than he earns.

Rev. Mr. Balch, pastor of the Universalist church, I found to be a very pleasant, genial man—a man who believes and carries out the principle that theory without practice is dead. He is a friend to our cause, and declares his intention to take the paper.

Rev. Mr. Haverhill, of the Methodist church, also believes in the doctrine that woman was created as a helpmate to man, in government as well as everywhere else.

Rev. Mr. Clayton, pastor of the Universalist church, at Young America, formerly of Albany, N. Y., is also with us.

Rev. Mr. Gordon, pastor of the Universalist church at Oneida, Ill., one of the most progressive and liberal clergymen of the age, is enthusiastic in the cause. I accepted his invitation to fill his pulpit the Sunday night I was there, and on Monday night following spoke in the same church upon "Emancipation of Woman."

On last Friday night I spoke to a large audience in Geneseo, Ill., a place of five or six thousand inhabitants. The evening previous, Hon. Clark Carr, of Galesburg, a gentleman well known in that part of the state, spoke in the same hall, upon the issues of the campaign in behalf of the republican party. I will not attempt to give a report of his speech. Like every political speech I have heard, it reminded me of a statement I saw not long since in "The Revolution," that "were it not for the democrats it would be hard to tell what the republicans would have to talk about." Not but there is enough to be said.

There are questions of infinite importance to the people—questions that every man and woman should be interested in and acquainted with; but it were better for the country if our politicians would say nothing upon them than to deceive and mislead the people as they do in the way they are at present discussing them. Mr. Carr said when the democratic party was in power it was said that Washington was so corrupt, the man in the moon had to hold his nose as he went over it. The truth is, this is a saying of a Massachusetts republican paper in regard to the moral condition of Washington at the present time. Doubtless the remark was true then, and is now. At the close of his speech he said the republican party was based upon the principle of

equal rights to all men. After he had taken his seat, I arose and asked him if he meant all women too? which brought the house down. He very courteously replied, that he did. I then told him I proposed on the following evening to discuss that part of the question, and hoped the same audience would favor me with a hearing, which they did, and brought all their friends with them. At the close of the lecture more than two-thirds of the women in the audience (and there were many present) voted in favor of the political equality of the sexes.

Women all over are beginning to realize how degraded is their position, and are waking up to a sense of their duty at this hour. The silent pleading of their sons and daughters, coming up from every cesspool of crime and iniquity in the land, saying, "Oh save me, mother," has reached the ear of many mothers, daughters and sisters, and they are heeding the cry, and asking the power to do the work that humanity is calling upon them to do. Oh! brother man, deny it not. Rather encourage woman to think and act, for her condition morally, mentally, and physically decides your plane of thought, feeling and existence.

Would you have the race redeemed from mental and physical disease, put nothing in the way of woman's highest elevation.

Yours, in behalf of truth and a higher civilization,
MATTIE H. BRINKERHOFF.

REV. OLYMPIA BROWN.

BY AN ENGLISH TRAVELLER IN AMERICA.

THE London Pall Mall Gazette has a long letter from an English traveller in this country, on the Rev. Olympia Brown, from which the following is extracted:

The one circumstance to which I have referred was that the service was conducted by a woman. Instead of the Dissenting preacher the pulpit was occupied by a lady, whose appearance I will not venture to describe further than to say that her dress was perfectly ladylike and simple, and that her features were of the rather refined and intellectual type so common amongst American women. The feeling of strangeness which naturally possessed me for a moment soon passed away when she glided quietly into the usual concatenation of Scripture phrases which in her denomination does duty for a prayer. The sensation was not that of listening to a woman usurping the functions of a priest, but rather that of hearing a schoolmistress read prayers to a class filled with an unusual proportion of adults. I expected, however, that the sermon would bring out the peculiarities of the system a little more distinctly.

Here in one respect, I must admit that the preacher had a merit which should be, perhaps, ascribed rather to her nationality than to her sex. Americans sometimes preach atrociously bad sermons, but they have at least this virtue, that they preach as if they were not in a paroxysm of shyness. An Englishman has a certain awkwardness when he has got upon his legs in face of an audience, which always seems to say, "I know that I am making a fool of myself." He seems gesticulation as if the greatest fault that an orator could commit was to be oratorical; and tries to impress upon his audience—generally with success—the opinion that he is doing something exquisitely uncomfortable to himself as it can be to them. I confess I prefer to see a speaker accept his situation, and prefer a fault in the direction of artificiality to the fault of ostentatious absence of preparation. It is bad to be over-dressed at a party, but it is worse to come in your shirt-sleeves. However this may be, our lady preacher seemed to me to read her sermon gracefully and well, without anything overstrained in manner or language, and yet with an obvious care and attention to effect which seemed to imply previous training. In short, so far as her style is concerned, she was infinitely preferable to half the English curates who stumble through their twenty minutes of nonsense, to the distress of the ears and brains of their congregations.

Of the substance of her address, I must speak more cautiously. The quietness of her manner was suitable to her doctrine. My experience left it doubtful whether a lady could do justice to one of those sermons which deal in hell-fire and the tortures of the damned. I suspect that manly lungs are indispensable for that excellent mode of awakening sinners. Unluckily the lady belonged to the Universalists, a sect which rejects the consoling doctrine that some souls will be damned. And the sermon was directed to obviating some of the supposed consequences of this lamentable lack of senti-

ment. She sought to prove that people should be virtuous from a love of virtue and not from fear of hell-fire or hope of personal advantage. The last point seemed to me to be well made out. She argued with great truth that many virtuous people were killed in railway accidents, and even ruined in business. She observed still more forcibly that virtue would not help a man to be President of the United States. Indeed, she suggested that if a party were to select a candidate simply on the ground of his being the most virtuous man in the country, it was very possible that his merits would not be appreciated. If virtue does not, even in a republican country, lead to office, and if vice doesn't lead to hell, the question remains—Why should we be virtuous? And as this point has been treated by a good many moralists of reputation, to whose remarks our preacher added little, I will not trouble you with any analysis of her argument. Founded upon a heterodox theory, it must of course, have been illogical; we must not be deprived of our devil, even if Miss Olympia Brown holds that a belief in him rests Christianity upon selfishness. But, although the heretical opinions of the preacher naturally damped my pleasure in her sermon, I could not deny that her language was good, and that there was even something healthy about a stoical view of virtue in a country where virtue is too apt to be valued on the ground of "enlightened self-interest," that is, because it pays. I confess, too, to liking a sermon which implies a certain intellectual activity in the hearers. Of course I should prefer the less metaphysical discourses which I had the privilege of attending before leaving England, where a gentleman proved in four Sundays that Jonah really got into the whale's belly. The erudition displayed, and the moral applications drawn, made such sermons far superior to poor Miss Brown's disquisitions on an inscrutable metaphysical problem. The fact, however, was established to my mind, though it is not a very big fact, that a lady could preach in excellent manner a sermon well adapted to excite the attention of an intelligent country congregation.

I may add, though only on hearsay evidence, that the lady is said to manage the Sunday schools and other such matters with great skill, that her congregation is more prosperous than at any former period. Miss Brown was chosen, as I am informed, simply because she was the best candidate who offered for the place; and the choice seems to have caused no more sensation than the appointment of a female editor to a magazine would cause in England. She could do the business better than any available man, and was therefore set to do it.

WESTERN WOMEN IN THE PULPIT.—The Hebrew prophecy is fast getting fulfilled—that the "sons and daughters shall prophesy." Two new Universalist ministers were first heard from last week: Miss Prudence Le Clerc of Vevay, Indiana, and Rev. Miss Chapin who has just astonished Chicago by her pulpit power, the first woman who ever appeared in that city as a recognized minister. Both Miss Le Clerc and Miss Chapin are complimented highly on their performances. Of the latter, the Chicago Tribune says a great many fine things (with some not so flattering) like the following:

In every respect Miss Chapin is a perfect lady, of excellent cultivation, as concerns both person and mind. She is not so marked an oratrice as Miss Dickinson, Miss Anthony, or Mrs. Stanton, but within the vocation adopted by her, she would be excelled by neither of those excellent ladies, since her style is more unassuming. She gives evidence of a cultivated voice, and her pronunciation is sufficiently forcible and clear to be heard in our largest halls. There is nothing assuming about her style, and her gestures are confined to a slight inclination of the body and a graceful movement of the hands. Miss Chapin is certainly the equal of the average male ministers, both as regards intellectual attainments and delivery, and yet we would have preferred, —the novelty excepted—that the sermon be read by a man. * * * While we have criticised Miss Chapin somewhat, we would do everything in our power to encourage her in her vocation. The pulpit is a place that can as well be filled by a woman as a man, and as a visitor to the bedside of the sick and dying, she would in many cases prove more acceptable than the latter, with his rougher and more uncouth manners. In our opinion, the society of Universalists deserve credit for the example set in admitting women to the privileges of the pulpit.

"Millions of throats will bawl for Civil Rights;
—No women named."
—TENNYSON.

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.
PARKER PILLSBURY, }

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 26, 1868.

THE REVOLUTION.

THE organ of the National Party of New America, based on Individual Rights and Responsibilities; devoted to Principle not Policy, Justice not Favors; Men, their Rights and Nothing More; Women, their Rights and Nothing Less. Demands Educated Suffrage, irrespective of sex or color. Eight hours Labor, with equal pay to women for equal work. Practical Education—every girl as well as boy—rich as well as poor—trained to some useful employment. Cold Water—not Alcoholic drinks, or Medicines. An American System of Finance.

Grateful for past patronage, as well as surprised at its liberal extent, at the end of the first year we are encouraged to renew our appeal to the public in behalf of "THE REVOLUTION."

This is the first attempt in this country to establish a public journal on a truly democratic basis. *Manhood* suffrage even, irrespective of color, has, until very recently, been advocated by but few of our newspapers, religious, literary, political or pictorial; while multitudes of them have ridiculed and reviled the colored man as unworthy and unfit to be admitted to equal citizenship.

"THE REVOLUTION" will continue to demand equality of rights, privileges and prerogatives, for both men and women. This is its primary condition in reconstructing the government; and in this respect it stands pre-eminently alone. Chattel slavery, fostered and upheld by the democratic party, wrought the ruin of the nation. That was one form of injustice. All the present policies for reconstruction by the republican party, are as unjust to woman as was African slavery to its victims. Without any voice or representation in the government, she is deprived of liberty, property, life; and, dearer than life, may be robbed of her children also, by laws and constitutions which men have made! Privileges and favors may or may not be bestowed upon her; but the power that gives them can take them away, at its convenience or pleasure. Literally, under the law, woman has no rights which man is bound to respect! This form of injustice the republican party proposes to continue with all its rigors on half the population of the country on account of their sex.

Hence we have made "THE REVOLUTION" the organ of the idea that must be the basis of the *New National party of America*.

That "THE REVOLUTION" is the cheapest paper in America, need not be told. Its typographical execution and general presentation, are most complimentary to its printer, and an honor to his profession. Our object has been not so much to make a popular paper, as to educate and elevate the people to higher, nobler views of justice and truth. As the *Liberator*, in the hands of Mr. Garrison, was the pioneer, the pillar of light and of fire to the slave's emancipation, so we have endeavored to make "THE REVOLUTION" the guiding star to the enfranchisement of woman.

Until woman is awarded equal pay with man for equal work, and is permitted to enter any calling to which she is adapted, the Work-

ing Women's Associations will continue to be a necessity, and will secure a due share of attention in our columns; though all efforts for woman are fragmentary and superficial until she holds the ballot in her own hand and has a voice in the laws.

Thenobility, the power, the true worth of any nation is in its educating and producing class. Any other department of society could be spared; but this never. It is the vital air, the real source and centre of all national life and being. To its interests, "THE REVOLUTION" stands specially pledged; and will seek to guard them with all the vigilance and care commensurate with human effort, wisdom, prudence and power.

Thus proposing, we now appeal, in its behalf, to every woman and to every friend of woman throughout the country, to aid us in giving it the widest circulation possible in the coming year. It advocates the true dignity of labor, and insists that the world's work should be done by the world's people, its whole people; as well the rich as the poor, the learned as the rude, the man as the woman. Thus labor would become easy, an honor, a delight, and a sure guarantee to health, happiness and national prosperity, and its hours would no longer need regulating by law.

While "THE REVOLUTION" will study to avoid whatever might array the laboring man against the capitalist, producing discord in any manner between rich and poor, it still holds the present laws regulating capital and rates of interest to be most unequal and unjust to the laboring classes; and so it has adopted a Commercial and Financial Policy peculiarly its own, the advantages of which we have endeavored to present from week to week.

The general questions of national finance, including all the varieties of tariff and taxation, have been too much neglected by the people, and there is reason to fear their interests suffer greatly in consequence. It is the aim of "THE REVOLUTION" to create a more extensive study of this subject, and one of the books we have offered as a premium for subscribers, entitled "Kellogg's New Monetary System," is admirably adapted to that purpose.

Whatever pertains to the general interest and welfare of the country—Education, Temperance, public and private Virtue and Morality, will continue to receive attention and support.

With this statement of our purposes we appeal to the liberality of the friends of equal justice and impartial liberty throughout the land. We ask every subscriber to become a self-constituted agent for "THE REVOLUTION." If each one would but procure one other, that would at once double the circulation. Many, with a little effort, could do that and more. We have made a liberal offer of premiums, as will be seen in the Prospectus, to induce persons who have leisure to undertake this work.

Whoever subscribes for the coming year and pays the two dollars, may commence at once and receive the paper to the end of the present year gratuitously. Our club rates, too, will be seen to be of the most liberal character. We have offered every inducement, that the doctrines and principles of "THE REVOLUTION" may be widely and rapidly spread, and the reign of justice and impartial liberty be speedily ushered in.

But the importance of the work should be the one sufficient inducement. The present, too, is a period of agitation and commotion in the natural, as well as in the moral, social and politi-

cal world, unexampled in all the records of the past. As the angel went down on occasions, and troubled the Judean pool that the first who entered might be healed, so the foundations of the universal soul of humanity are now stirred by divine influences like the waters of a great deep. And now, emphatically, is our opportunity. Let it not be lost.

"The world waits help. The world is old:
But the old world waits the hour to be renewed:
Toward which new hearts in individual growth
Must quicken, and increase to multitude
In new dynasties of the race of men;
Developed whence, shall grow spontaneously
New churches, new economies; new laws
Admitting freedom; new societies
Excluding falsehood. He shall make all new."

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON,
SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

New York, 37 Park Row, }
Nov. 25, 1868. }

BREAD AND BABIES.

We are constantly asked, if women vote, what will become of the bread and babies?

In view of the heavy bread, and badly cooked food we find on most tables, and the shocking mortality among infants, we contemplate with wonder and pity the blind faith of man in the maternal and culinary intelligence of "the weak minded" who have no aspirations beyond Hecker's flour, Mrs. Winslow's soothing syrup, and Wheeler and Wilson's sewing machine. Seeing that women have devoted themselves through the ages to domestic economy and failed, as miserably as men have in the art of government, we have, after mature thought, come to the conclusion that just as woman's enlightened interest in political questions will improve the state, so man's skill and science are necessary to redeem the home from its present disorder, disease, and death. If there are two things we thoroughly understand, they are babies and bread, and for our knowledge of both these divine arts we are indebted to philosophical, scientific gentlemen.

The only valuable work we ever saw on Infancy was written by a man, Andrew Combe of Scotland, a close observer, a sound thinker, and a learned physiologist. We shall never forget how tempest tossed we were when we first found ourself the happy possessor of a man child without the slightest knowledge of what to do for his comfort and protection. An ignorant nurse fidgeted round the room day and night, sang melancholy ditties, and rocked vehemently, while the child cried continually with a loud voice, and we wept, prayed and philosophized by turns. Reasoning on general principles, we at last came to the conclusion that inasmuch as the child was large and vigorous, there must be some mistake on the part of the nurse that he was not quiet and comfortable. Accordingly, we fortified ourself in that opinion by a faithful reading of what Mr. Combe had to say on babies in general. The result of this consideration of his opinions was a prompt revolution in the whole nursery department, and a transfer of pain from the baby to the nurse, who stood humbled and chagrined as she saw her time honored system summarily set aside, the pins, paregoric, catmint, and cradle driven out, while pure air, sunlight and common sense walked in. Oh! what sighs, what groans, what doubtful shakings of the head, what suppressed laughter and whisperings in the hall we heard during the first few days after the inauguration of that dynasty of health, happiness and rest to that new born soul.

When the three hours cry begun that day, which ancient dames assured us was a custom that had been faithfully kept by all the sons of Adam from time immemorial, we ordered the little sufferer to be promptly stripped; to the skin and put in a warm bath: that brought instant relief, after which he was dressed in a few light garments hung on the shoulders, with no swaddling bands, no pressure on the lungs or bowels, and laid down to sleep. He was fed (according to Combe) every two hours by day, and but once during the night. After that we had peace, though eternal vigilance on our part was its price. The custom of pinning babies up as tight as a drum is both cruel and absurd. We asked the antiquarian who tortured our first born in that way, why she did it? "The bones of young babies are so soft and their flesh so tender," said she, "that they are in constant danger of dissolution unless tightly pinioned together." We soothed her fears by pointing to the fact that colts and calves, puppies and kittens, all lived and flourished without bandages, and for the benefit of the race we said we would make the experiment on one of the human family.

If babies are regularly fed, bathed and comfortably dressed, and in a pure atmosphere, they will be quiet and healthy. The ignorance of women on these subjects is truly lamentable. We have seen children a year old that had never tasted water, when they should have it half a dozen times every day from the hour of their birth. We have found fathers who worked hard all day complain bitterly of being disturbed at night by crying children, hence the common use of Mrs. Winslow's soothing syrup, which only tends to increase the irritable condition of the nervous system, and permanently weaken the brain.

Young mothers no doubt imagine that this Mrs. Winslow is some experienced, humane old lady, who loves little children, knows just how to soothe them to sleep and pilot them through all the pitfalls of infancy, when, in fact, this abominable syrup is compounded by some ignorant man, in whiskers, broadcloth and boots, who lives and fattens on his ill-gotten gains, while babies are sent by the hundreds to untimely graves or made idiots and lunatics for life.

E. C. S.

GOVERNMENT ECONOMY.

THE republican papers promise all sorts of economical reforms under the incoming administration. And the *Times* last week showed how much needed they are. It said, among other things, that a change of a single official in Chicago is said to have cost our government \$100,000 in a single year, merely from his inexperience. All our intelligent public men deplore this evil in regard to the revenue service continually. Mr. Wells has written of it in almost every report he has made to Congress. Before the war, people were comparatively indifferent how much they were cheated by their officials. The nation was rich and could afford losses. Now we are under a heavy debt, and every man desires that all public expenses and, above all, *leakages*, should be kept at as low a point as possible.

The *Times* makes some just complaints about the Post Office regulations. Comparing ours with the British system, it says, take so simple an instance as the decipherer of illegible addresses, an important official in an English Post Office. Each year he acquires a greater facility

in his art, until, in the British service, a letter seldom miscarries from bad handwriting. In Great Britain, such a man holds his place during good behavior, or is promoted to a higher position in that department. Here, he would probably be turned out in four years, and enter some other business. A new man would be put in to learn this art, and for some years what blunders and costly mistakes would the public suffer under, just because a party place-hunter must be rewarded!

All these suggestions apply with equal force to every department of the government, from the highest to the lowest; and if Gen. Grant reforms these abuses materially, he will have to regenerate and reform nearly all the officials and public men, or cast them behind his back and there leave them. It is folly and madness to look for any new harvests from the present stock of politicians.

WATCH YOUR RULERS.

AFTER the delirium of a Presidential Campaign, there comes a stagnation in the public mind.

The national pulse and heart return to their normal condition, in fact from the reaction they beat fainter than before, and a general indifference to all that concerns the state, settles down upon the people.

The office seekers, few in number compared to the whole, are, as usual, more vigilant than ever; but the mass of the people feel that their work is done for the next four years, and all alike go about their private business; some, still to move in paths of peace and pleasantness; but the multitude, to plod on in poverty, ignorance and crime, with no hope of rest or joy this side the dark river of death. Jeremy Bentham says, if the people want good rulers, they must never trust them without watching. "Chains to the man in power, that *restrain* as well as *rattle*." Unthinking people imagine that government and religion are based on laws as immutable as the solar system, not seeing that through man's ignorance, selfishness, and folly, all the natural laws of justice, equality and fraternity that, if obeyed, would secure freedom and happiness to man, are being continually violated.

This blind faith of the people in things as they are, in their public teachers and rulers, is the one cause why all the mighty nations of the past that have risen in pride and pomp and power, have one after another passed into oblivion; and this will be our fate unless the working classes be roused from the lethargy of despair, their conscience and courage quickened into life, and with one simultaneous shout shall demand that the declaration of the Fathers be realized, and a government of the people be established on this continent. Crafty men know that now, during this lull of public thought and speech, and while the ruling party is elated with success, is the time to push all doubtful means and measures for the coming administration. One thing already proposed is to raise the salary of the President to one hundred thousand dollars; four times more than any President has had from the beginning of the government. As this will be raised by taxing the working classes, they are interested in opposing the measure as speedily as possible, for if this be accomplished, it will be the first step towards raising the salaries of all the officers under government. Gen. Grant has been ac-

customed all his life to a simple, economical style of living, and he will be a wiser and more virtuous man if he continues it. When all the brave men who fought for this nation's life are comfortably housed and fed and clothed, when no soldiers wives and daughters are compelled to sell themselves for bread, it will be time enough for the American people to be ambitious that the surroundings of their government officials shall vie in luxury and elegance with the nobles of the old world. It would be a prouder boast for this nation, that in the length and breadth of our green land there was no man without a homestead, than that the style of our President surpassed any of the crowned heads in Europe. The genius of our institutions is to establish equality among the citizens; hence all our legislation should be to prevent, as far as possible, the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few, and all those unnatural distinctions in society; the selfishness, sloth and excess; the ignorance, brutality and vice, that are the result of the extremes of wealth and poverty.

Let the working men be wide awake to every act and proposition of their rulers, and help today to roll back the fast coming tide of bribery and corruption that threaten our existence as a nation.

Again, it is proposed by the liberal party to make a bold stand for "manhood suffrage" in every state in the Union. Do the refined, educated women of this republic choose to see every type of ignorant manhood exalted above their heads? Shall they who, in their own land, have seen woman sold on the auction-block, yoked with the ox, her feet in iron shoes, never permitted to see the face of any man but her owner, shall they who have ever looked down upon woman as a degraded being, make laws for the daughters of the Pilgrims? Let the women of the country also watch their rulers; remember no one class ever legislated wisely for another. The one bow of promise we see in the midst of the general political demoralization that all our thinking men deplore to day, is the determined, defiant position of the laboring classes, and the restless craving of women for nobler and more serious purposes in life. These are the signs of health and healing for the nation; for in the restoration of the love element, which is woman, capital and labor will be reconciled, intelligence and activity welded together, forming a trinity that shall usher in the golden age that prophets foretold, and poets sang in the beginning.

E. C. S.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN NEW JERSEY.

The first Annual Meeting of the New Jersey State Woman's Suffrage Association will be held in Vineland, Dec. 2, 1868.

All persons who are opposed to the existing aristocracy of sex, and who desire to establish a republican form of government in New Jersey, "based upon the consent of the governed," are respectfully invited to attend.

Lucretia Mott, Ernestine L. Rose, Mary F. Davis, Lucy Stone, Antoinette L. Brown Blackwell, Elizabeth A. Kingsbury, Deborah Butler, Olive F. Stevens, and other noted speakers, will be present.

This is the woman's hour. The Presidential election is settled. By republicans and democrats the respective claims of the negro and the rebel to the ballot are vehemently urged. Prominent leaders of each party propose to compromise by conferring suffrage upon both.

Shall women alone be omitted in the reconstruction? Shall our own mothers, wives, and sisters, be ranked politically below the most ignorant and degraded men? Let the friends of virtue, intelligence, loyalty, temperance and justice answer. By order of the Executive Committee.

LUCK STONE, President.
D. M. ALLEN, Secretary.

NEW ENGLAND WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

It seems to have been every way a success. It was long in coming, a little exclusive and fastidious in its make up, but well attended, every way well supported, was continued two days, both of which were crowded with business or discussions until almost midnight, a New England Woman's Suffrage Association was organized and officered under a well considered constitution, a series of most pronounced resolutions was adopted, and the Convention adjourned at a very late hour on Thursday evening full of enthusiastic hope and determination as to the future action of the Association and its friends.

Among the prominent persons in attendance was Rev. Dr. Clarke, of Boston, who presided, with the following who were elected officers of the Convention:

Vice-Presidents—T. W. Higginson, Newport, R. I.; Samuel E. Sewall, Boston; Paulina W. Davis, Providence, R. I.; Caroline M. Severance, West Newton, Mass.; Thos. T. Stone, Brooklyn, Conn.; Nathaniel White, Concord; R. B. Stratton, Worcester; Abby Kelley Foster, Worcester; Charlotte L. Forten, Boston; Anna D. Halliwell, Medford, Mass.; Ella Wright Garrison, Boston; James Hutchinson, West Randolph, Vt.; Newell A. Foster, Portland.
Secretaries—Charles K. Whipple, Kate Hart, George H. Vibbert.

Among the distinguished speakers on the occasion were Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Dr. Jackson and Hon. Samuel E. Sewall of Boston, Mr. Blackwell, Lucy Stone and Mrs. Kingsbury of New Jersey, Col. T. W. Higginson of Rhode Island, Rev. Olympia Brown, Hon. Henry Wilson, Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster, Stephen S. Foster, Frederick Douglass, Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper, Hon. F. W. Bird, Charles L. Remond, and many others, including several clergymen not heretofore widely known in the field of Reform. Letters of sympathy with and approval of the objects of the Convention were read from Gov. Bullock of Mass., Mr. Geo. Wm. Curtis and Mrs. Frances D. Gage of New York, Mr. John Neal of Portland, Me., and several others.

The following resolutions, offered by Rev. Samuel May of Boston, were considered with others and adopted after long, earnest and very able discussion.

Whereas all human beings are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights of life, liberty and property, and whereas "to secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," therefore,

Resolved, That suffrage is an inherent right of every American citizen, without distinction of sex.

Resolved, That our existing governments—both state and national—will be anti-republican in form and anti-democratic in fact so long as one-half of the people are unjustly excluded from the polls.

Resolved, That the injustice everywhere inflicted by the law upon woman—as mother, wife and widow—is the inevitable consequence of class legislation: that, as the rich cannot be trusted to make laws for the poor, nor the white for the black, so men cannot be safely trusted to make laws for women.

Resolved, That we invite the republican party to drop its watchword of "Manhood Suffrage" and the democratic party to abandon its motto of "A White Man's Government," and to unite in an amendment to the constitution of the United States extending suffrage to all men and women as the inalienable birthright of every American citizen.

Resolved, That we call upon the senators and representatives of New England in Congress to demand suffrage for women in the District of Columbia and in the Territories upon the same terms and qualifications as are prescribed for men.

The following are the declarative portions of the Constitution:

1. Believing in the natural equality of the two sexes and

that women ought to enjoy the same legal rights and privileges as men, and that as long as women are denied the elective franchise they suffer a great wrong and society a deep and incalculable injury, the undersigned agree to unite in an association to be called "The New England Woman Suffrage Association."

2. The object of this Association shall be to procure the right of suffrage for women and to effect such changes in the laws as shall place women in all respects on an equal legal footing with men.

The 3d section designates the officers.

4. Any person may be a member of the Association upon an annual contribution, or a life member by the payment of twenty dollars.

The four next sections relate chiefly to the duties of the officers, and the designs of the society as to its action, in the future, which promises well.

9. The annual meeting of the Association shall be held on such day in the last week in May, in Boston, and at such hour and place, and be called in such manner as the Executive Committee may appoint.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, a very recent convert to the doctrine of Woman's Suffrage, was elected President, with some fifteen Vice-Presidents: Mr. Garrison the first named; with Sarah Clark, Recording and Charles K. Whipple Corresponding Secretaries.

The press, both of New York and Boston, appears to have been in the main very just and liberal towards the Convention, furnishing extended reports of proceedings. The best we have seen, were in the Boston Post and the New York World. Only our want of space prevents our copying in full, though the speeches and discussions present little in the way of argument, illustration or appeal not already familiar to readers of "THE REVOLUTION."

We cheerfully welcome this new and first auxiliary to the field. It promises admirably. May its labors and successes both be abundant. Some of its members are already veterans in the service, and can rejoice with us in the confident hope that our labor in this cause is more than half accomplished and that our full triumph will not be very long delayed.

P. P.

SAVAGE BARBARITY.—Delaware should not be included within the pale of civilization. The pillory and whipping post even, are not yet discarded there. One day last week seven persons, who had been convicted of various petty offenses, were tied to the post and whipped naked in New Castle. One was seventy years of age, and he received twenty lashes on his bare back. Two boys, about twelve years of age, were flogged with twenty lashes each for petty offenses. One man was placed in the pillory until he was totally helpless from the cold, and was then whipped with twenty lashes. Each of the criminals, after receiving the barbarous punishment, was returned to prison to remain six months, then to wear convicts' dress in public another half-year.

NEW WOMAN'S RIGHTS PAPER.—New journals are already taking the field in woman's behalf and more are promised at New Year's. But decidedly the best as to appearance and promise that has yet reached us is the *Woman's Advocate* just issued at Dayton, Ohio. J. T. Belville, Proprietor, and A. T. Boyer, Editor. Weekly, 1.50 per annum. It pulls off its coat at the outset, man fashion, and evidently means business. Though small in stature, it deals vigorous blows and will assuredly be felt as a power in the cause of woman wherever it goes. We most heartily wish it a wide circulation, and every way a grand and successful career.

"FINANCE FOR THE PEOPLE."

"THE REVOLUTION" of Nov. 12th has an editorial under the above caption, in which the following occurs: "We see that the productions of labor are unjustly distributed; some get a great deal too much, some barely enough to support existence in the most meagre way; * * * this condition of affairs is brought about by our laws in regard to money and the rate of interest."

Stewart, Astor, and Gerard were poor young men who amassed wealth by hard and constant toil, indomitable perseverance, and rigid economy; and it is conceded that every able-bodied young man of ordinary capacity who will strictly follow the rules of living which they followed, is sure of the necessities of life and a full competence in old age.

Is it not, then, more sensible to inculcate energy, industry and frugality, and thus bring the masses up to wealth, than to suppose that because the lazy vagabonds and improvident poor, amass too little, others amass too much, and that some logerdomain or legislation may remedy all this?

Daniel Webster lived on charity and died a bankrupt, and no possible legislation could have made him otherwise financially.

The improvident poor know the suffering produced by want. None but the founder of his own fortune, knows that produced by rigid economy and unceasing self-denial.

Tenally, N. J.

In summing up the means by which Stewart, Astor and Gerard amassed their immense wealth, our correspondent fails to add, a hard, grinding selfishness that enabled them, by skill and cunning, to take undue advantage of their neighbors' necessities, and overreach all who had dealings with them. The foundation of Astor's wealth was the taking of valuable furs from the Indians for a mere song. There are multitudes of men who are frugal, industrious, persevering, and labor hard all their lives, who never gain a competence, simply because they are too honest to take advantage of every one they meet. The immense fortunes of the few are always made at the expense of the many who perish in our garrets and cellars; and it is only by a rare combination of fortunate circumstances, added to great cunning, selfishness and skill, that any poor man becomes a millionaire. Our correspondent seems to think that our present system of political economy, finance and trade is based on laws as immutable as the solar system, while we of "THE REVOLUTION" deem it rotten to the core, in direct antagonism to the wisdom, justice and beneficence that should mark the relations of man with man.

Is it not by class legislation that we have our present system of national banks, rates of interest, and taxation? our public lands in the hands of speculators, who hold all that border on the railroads, and crowd the farmers, the creators of the wealth of a state, far away from a market? Is it not by class legislation that wealth is rapidly concentrating in the hands of the few, and fast bringing our country to the same condition that is undermining all the governments in the old world? The same causes are at work here as there. Is it not by class legislation that all the soil of England is owned by 30,000 inhabitants? are the remaining millions necessarily "improvident, poor and lazy vagabonds?" What mockery to tell any young man in England that by economy, industry and self-denial he could own an estate like the Marquis of Breadalbane who rides out of his house a hundred miles to the sea on his own property! What is true of land is true of all kinds of wealth. When the multitude suffer that the few may shine, we know that great natural laws are violated, though we may not be able clearly to trace effects to their legitimate causes.

E. C. A.

EQUAL RIGHTS AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

WHAT does the Worcester (Mass.) *Spy* mean by such fine words as the following?

We have now an opportunity to remove forever from our politics this element of discord, to abolish all distinctions founded upon race or color, and to establish equal rights and universal suffrage by an amendment to the constitution.

This should be done, because it is right. The exclusion of colored men from the ballot-box is indefensible on any ground.

Does the *Spy* really believe that one-half the population are to be "forever" disfranchised on account of sex? Will there be no "element of discord" in our politics when all men vote and all women are still under the curse of disfranchisement? Have "Equal Rights and Universal Suffrage" for ever to mean but half the human race, in a republican, democratic and Christian nation? Is it "right" to bring "colored men" to the polls and not right to bring women there also? Is it any more "indefensible" to exclude one class than the other?

The *Spy* adds:

We have now the requisite majority in Congress for proposing such an amendment, and a sufficient number of states have elected, or will elect, republican legislatures to insure its ratification.

All that was as true last year and the year before as now, but it did not get done. Two years ago, republicanism was almost unanimous in every state then in the Union, but not much came of it. Now we are to wait and watch again. But let not the *Spy* dream for a moment that there will be "no element of discord" in our politics, with fifteen millions of women clamoring for their long withheld rights.

A GREAT MISTAKE.

THE Philadelphia *Daily News* probably expects to be believed in assertions like these:

Sensible men do not favor the notion of giving the "right" to vote to women, for the simple reason that they do not think that either women or men would gain anything by it. The presumption that women would make such use of the ballot as to remedy evils under which many of them suffer is not warranted by any facts presented. It is well known that none of their sex have proposed practical measures of legislation having this object in view. If they did do so their propositions would receive as much consideration as such things do receive when presented by men.

The editor of the *News* should read as well as make newspapers. If he did he would have known that since Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Rose and Miss Anthony began their work of reform in this state, the legislation with respect to woman has been wholly revolutionized. And their good example has been followed, with more or less of similar good success, by the women in other states. Philadelphia needs light.

The *News* says:

It is certain that many women are very poorly rewarded for their work; but do those who clamor for the ballot offer any feasible measures to improve their condition?

Let the editor come to New York and see; or let him read in "THE REVOLUTION" what the Working Women's Association here is doing under the lead of Miss Anthony and a few others, who are instant day and night, and all day and sometimes all night, in their labors, every hour becoming more and more pressing, as well as extensive; letters coming in every mail asking for counsel or for more material aid, until "THE REVOLUTION" office has become almost a working woman's Exchange

thronged with not only the poor and forlorn, but by the rich and wise and benevolent who wish to co-operate in the noble work. If the Philadelphians have not similar operations there, it surely is not because there is no need of them there.

The *News* says farther:

We sometimes hear it said that many women who are married are in a more helpless condition than those who have remained single, and we shall not deny it; but in some measure women are to blame for this. If, instead of holding conventions to discuss political questions, they would go seriously to work to find how much they might do to improve the manners and habits of men, and how they may make homes happy, and the business of husbands prosperous, by industry and economy, they might do a great deal to improve their own position in society, and to mend the morals of the rougher sex.

Another mistake. The women are here doing that very thing, and holding conventions into the bargain. But suppose our friend of the *News* should suggest that the men also, "instead of holding conventions to discuss political questions," "should go seriously to work" to improve their own manners and habits, and how they, too, "may make home happy," and "mend their own morals!"

There is much more in the article needing attention and correction, but we must turn now to other things. The *News* has many good articles, able ones, too. Indeed it is rarely so off the true track as to-day.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE CANDIDATES.

THE CANVASS IN ENGLAND.

NO. IX.

The elections in England have occurred. The Liberals have a large majority, not less than a hundred and fifty by report. At going to press we are able to give, per cable, the names of the following Woman Suffrage candidates who have been either elected or defeated as

THE RESULT.

The following, all Liberals, are returned: Hon. George Denman, from Tiverton. The O'Donohue, from Tralee, Ireland. Geo. John Shaw Lefevre, from Reading. Prof. Henry Fawcett, from Brighton. John Bright, from Birmingham. John Francis Maguire, from Cork City, Ireland. John Aloysius Blake, from Waterford City.

The following Liberal is defeated: John Stuart Mill, from Westminster.

Tralee, Ireland, from which The O'Donohue is returned was once represented in Parliament by Daniel O'Connell, also an advocate of Woman's Rights.

Sir George Bowyer has lately been appointed by the Pope one of his chamberlains, for important services rendered to the Roman Catholic Church. We trust Sir George is returned.

The ancient borough of Tiverton, from which we have said the Hon. Geo. Denman is returned, was once represented by Lord Palmerston.

We are very sorry to be forced to chronicle the defeat of the leader of the Woman Suffrage party in the last Parliament—John Stuart Mill; but so it is. His defeat, say some, was caused by forwarding a subscription to the election fund of a Mr. Bradlaugh running for Parliament in Northampton, who by the way is not returned. He is a villifier of all forms of religion and hence Mr. Mill's defeat. We are more inclined to think his defeat resulted from his accustomed disinclination to bribe, while his opponent—W. H. Smith—who spent over \$50,000 last election, has, no doubt, judging from the

result, done the same this year, if not worse; and that the Bradlaugh affair is merely a cloak to hide the vile corruption of local politicians who bought up the new electors, mostly poor men, to vote blindly against their own interests. It is very unnatural to suppose the electors of Westminster to be as prejudiced as old Sam Johnson, who would not speak to a man, however distinguished and noble, if he associated with an infidel. The cable announced on the 19th "that if Mr. Gladstone is declared elected from Southwest Lancashire, the Liberals will run Mr. John Stuart Mill in Greenwich, where he will be sure of an election;" but we fear Mr. Mill's seat is lost.

FOR THE COURT OF ST. JAMES.—The *Troy Times* puts forward George William Curtis as a fit person to represent the American people at the Court of St. James. The *Times* thinks it is about time the country was represented by young Americans—old fogeyism has disgraced the country long enough in the judgment of the *Troy* paper. The *Times* becomes enthusiastic over Mr. Curtis, and says: "There is no blood in England that can produce more refined manners than those of this young American gentleman; there are few better heads than his in any country; and there is no truer or better heart."

This is what we call a first-rate notice and Mr. Curtis is entitled to it.

We agree with the *Times*, but we fear that Horace Greeley is to be the man, as the *Sun* is now pressing him for that office, and that enterprising journal generally accomplishes whatever it undertakes.

Alone and unaided it came very near lifting the democratic party up to the sublime point of making our Chief-Justice the President of the United States. Our objection to Mr. Greeley is not based on any distrust of capacity to fill that office with ability, nor in any lack of admiration on our part, for we consider him a great and good man, but we fear he might prove a wet blanket to the Woman's Suffrage movement now so popular in England. Moreover, he is so tenacious of the old idea of the common law, that husbands and wives are one and that one the husband, insisting that every woman shall be called by the name of her husband, that we fear he might snock ears polite by speaking of Queen Victoria as Mrs. Albert-Franz-August-Kart-Emmanuel-Laxe-Coburg-Gotha.

THE BOSTON CONVENTION.—We have given it what space we could this week. It should be stated, however, that our indefatigable agent, Mrs. Kelsey, attended, and besides selling a large number of copies of "THE REVOLUTION" and procuring a goodly number of subscribers to it, obtained also more than six hundred adult names to our new Petition to Congress.

AN HONEST CONFESSION.—The editor of the Morrison (Ill.) *Reform Investigator* says:

We commenced the publication of the *Investigator*, not to help make or unmake a president; for that is the business of politicians—it was commenced to represent the interests of Labor; and we designed to make it, aside from what is made a speciality in its columns, as good a farmer's paper as can be furnished for the money, and trust we have succeeded.

Nobody has succeeded better; and the farmers of Rock River Valley are unworthy that peerless region of country, if they do not give the *Investigator* a most liberal support.

WORKING WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION.—Its Constitution, and the Proceedings of its meeting last week, including list of officers and other matters, will appear in our next.

LITERARY.

THE December number of OUR SCHOOL DAY VISITOR, Daughaday & Becker, publishers, Philadelphia, Pa., \$1.25 a year, is before us, and full of good things for boys and girls.

THE MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE, ANN ARBOR, Mich., published by the students, contains very creditable articles. Vol. III begins with the October number.

THE MASSACHUSETTS TEACHER—Boston: published by the Massachusetts Teachers' Association—for November contains an account of the meeting of the State Association and an excellent article on Physical Culture in Schools.

THE PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL for December contains a great variety of interesting matter, illustrated and otherwise, of which the following is a sample: Henri Rochefort, editor of the Paris *Lanterne*; Dr. Francis Williamson; Frau Marie Simon and her work on the battle field; Archbishop Manning, the English Roman Primate; Rev. Dr. Stockton; Phrenology in the School Room; The Body, what is its King; Earning a Wife; Notes on the Inhabitants of Brazil; Retrospection; Do as others do; Fair Haven Harbor; Miraculous Healing; An Ideal Chaldean; Religion and Nature: The Mink; Progress in Co-operation; A Reading solicited. A new Volume, the 49th, commences with the next number. Subscribe now. Terms, \$3 a year, or 30 cents a number. Address S. R. Wells, 389 Broadway, New York.

THE FRIEND, AN INDEPENDENT MONTHLY, published at 131 William street, New York, 20 cents. The two numbers before us contain articles of considerable interest to casuistic or liberal-minded readers.

POTNAM'S MONTHLY for December closes the first volume of the new issue of this deservedly popular magazine. The number before us contains the concluding letter on Woman's Suffrage, filled with clear, comprehensive Christian arguments in favor of the ballot for women. We hope every young woman in the country will read these letters carefully, and thoughtfully consider the subject. Mr. Blood's article on the "Alphabet of Poetry" is exceedingly ingenious and will attract attention from lovers of philological research.

THE TRUE GRECIAN BEND, by Larry Leigh, is a verified history of the origin of this fashionable deformity. J. S. Redfield, N. Y., publisher.

PETERS' MONTHLY GLEE HIVE, and Parlor Companion for Piano, Flute and Violin are two excellent publications of music. J. L. Peters, P. O. box 5429, New York. \$3 per year.

PLANCHETTE'S DIARY. Edited by Kate Field. J. S. Redfield, New York, is a very bright, chatty account of the sayings and doings of the wonderful little board. We do not pretend to decide whether mental, electric, magnetic or odic forces influence this magician, but we consider Miss Field's is fully justified by experience in adopting for her motto: "he who outside of pure mathematics pronounces the word 'impossible,' wants prudence."

PACKARD'S MONTHLY for December rounds out the year and its first volume in the handsomest manner, with promise of various improvements in the future, which it will doubtless redeem in spirit and letter. Young men, to whom it primarily dedicates its services, should appreciate its worth and overwhelm it with their patronage. They are the strength of the nation in important senses, and should be its hope and glory. Packard's Monthly is less in size and in price than most of the magazines; but not less in power and purpose to benefit and bless. Only one dollar a year. 937 Broadway, New York.

YOUNG AMERICA.—This favorite juvenile periodical enters upon its third year enlarged and improved. It is the most varied, and, in many respects, one of the best of all the juveniles, and well repays the investment of the small sum required for its possession. A diagram containing a full-sized pattern for cutting out the body of a Christmas doll is one of the attractions of the present number, which is, otherwise, full of good things. \$1.50 per annum, with a premium. 473 Broadway, N. Y.

A NEW BOOK.—The papers announce a new book by Rev. Crammond Kennedy, which will excite thought and discussion among the Baptists. There are more than a million of these in this country, who, with very

few exceptions, refuse to commune with any Christians of a different order, on the ground that baptism is essential to the observance of the Lord's Supper, and that only dipping is baptism. Mr. Kennedy pleads for more liberal practice. His plea is entitled "Close Communion or Open Communion?—an EXPERIENCE and an ARGUMENT." The book will be published by the American News Co. about the middle of December.

KANSAS.—The following is part of a letter from Kansas, and tells of one place, what is true of many more:

The following named distinguished persons were voted for in this city on the 3d inst.:

For President—Elizabeth Cary Stanton.

For Vice-President—Anna E. Dickinson.

We hope the day is not far distant when women will be nominated and elected to these high and honorable positions. Many republicans are already advocating the submission, this winter, of the constitutional amendment striking out the word "white" from our State Constitution.

NAKED TRUTHS.

A LADY writes to the Rochester Chronicle a wholesome letter on the dressing of little girls to this effect:

Can any mortal man or woman estimate the mischief that is done by our present style of dressing girls? Poor little miserable artificial curiosities that they appear! I am afraid some specimen gatherer will catch some of them and bottle them up for preservation in museums, to be gazed at when this generation shall have passed away. Look at them in their contours as they are seen on our streets in the light of a cold, windy, shivering day. Heads in warm hoods, shawls or furs muffled about their shoulders, belts tight around their waists, short skirts thrown out from their bodies by hoops, and then their drumstick legs clad in cotton stockings that do not always meet their muslin drawers, and their feet in shoes so thin that one step on the damp ground will let the dampness through. If we, as a people, were as hardy as the Scotch Highland soldiers, and not accustomed to fire and other luxuries in our houses, it might do well enough to go with knees bare in the winter, but that does not happen to be the case. Out upon such outrages, I say! And I say, too, that the men of this age who are fathers need not arrogate to themselves superior sense so long as they cannot see them, or seeing do not interfere to prevent them.

WELL DESERVED HONORS.—Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales has appointed Messrs. Wheeler & Wilson "Sewing Machine Manufacturers to Her Royal Highness," the only honor of the kind ever conferred upon a sewing machine house—*Express*.

THE BENEDICT TIME WATCH.

THE enterprising firm of Benedict Brothers have now ready at their "up-town" establishment, 691 Broadway, an extensive and elegant assortment of Gold and Silver Watches for the Fall trade of 1868, to which they invite the attention of the readers of "THE REVOLUTION" and all others who desire a perfect TIME-KEEPER. Their stock comprises the various grades of the American Waltham and the choicest imported watches. They have also, in addition, a fine quality of watch which they have named the "Benedict Time Watch," they having the supervision of the manufacture of the movements, which are of nickel, which has proved to be a metal more durable than brass or other compound metals, and less liable to contraction or expansion by the fluctuating character of the temperature of this climate. This movement gives greater accuracy and requires less repairs than the others. Their stock of American Watches is unrivalled. All the various grades may be found at their counters at the lowest prices, regulated and in every respect warranted. The Messrs. Benedict Brothers have secured their reputation and extensive patronage by a strictly honorable course in conducting their business, selling the best of goods at fair prices. We feel safe in commending this establishment to the consideration of our readers, and would say to all, if you want a good, reliable Watch, go to Benedict Brothers, up town, 691 Broadway.

Mrs. HENRY WARD BEECHER is about to start a magazine to be called *Mothers at Home*. An able corps of female writers will contribute to its pages. It will be handsomely printed, and each number will be embellished with an illustration.

Financial Department.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.—America versus Europe—Gold, like our Cotton, FOR SALE. Greenbacks for Money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. A lantic and Pacific Oceans for AMERICAN Steamships and Shipping. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor, and keep briggy the chain of friendship between them and their Father Land.

THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. II.—NO. 21.

WHAT IS THE TRUE FINANCIAL POLICY.

(Concluded from last week.)

CAPITAL now practically says to labor: I will give you so much for your labor, and if you do not accept my terms, you may starve.

The reverse should be the rule. Labor should say to capital: I will give you so much of my labor for the loan or use of your capital, and if you do not accept my terms, you may keep your capital.

But so long as an aristocracy can keep the capital of the nation concentrated in few hands capital will control labor, and men may be compelled to toil for a mere subsistence; the surplus of their earnings over a subsistence being absorbed by capital. On the other hand, if labor takes to itself all the surplus productions of capital and labor combined, capital will be absorbed by labor. There should therefore be a standard of distribution; capital and labor receiving their equitable proportions of the surplus production. In the department of agriculture the distribution is equitably arranged by the capitalist and laborer between themselves, by an agreement as to the standard of distribution. After paying repairs and taxes of a well improved farm, the laborer who has produced the crops receives two-thirds of the net production and the capitalist who owns the farm one-third. Here is an equitable distribution agreed upon by the parties, satisfactory and just to both. But when we leave the department of agriculture and embark in other pursuits, it is the rate of interest established for the use of money that must govern—and this is the standard of distribution—and it depends upon the rate of interest to be paid for non-production capital whether or not a fair distribution has been made. In other words, the rate of interest has determined whether or not labor has received an equitable proportion of the productions or has been robbed by capital of the share that

equitably belonged to labor. If by wrong legislation too high a rate of interest has been established for money, capital may not labor and leave the laborer without a remedy. How may such robbery be prevented? Can it be guarded against by legislation? This is a question that has been considered by the National Labor Congress, and discussed in their several meetings, until they came to a final decision on the subject, which they promulgated in the resolutions passed at a called session on the second day of July, 1868, in the city of New York; and reaffirmed at their general annual meeting at the same place, in September, 1868.

The conclusion that the National Labor Congress came to on the subject of the financial condition of the country may be briefly stated as follows:

The Government owes a bonded debt, as stated by Mr. Atkinson. \$2,224,411,871.80 not yet due, being 7 3-10 convertible into 5-20 and 10-40 bonds; \$10,630,153.64 over due; \$414,165,054.51 due on demand; Legal tender green backs and fractional currency \$2,648,207,079.95.

The legal tender notes do not bear interest thus leaving the interest bearing debt \$2,234,042,024.

The interest on the bonded debt will average to the tax payer in the money of trade 8-40 per cent.; this and the cost for collecting will amount to two hundred millions of dollars annually. Now, how is that money to be raised? It must be paid to the bondholders, and the government has agreed to act as the bondholders agent in collecting the interest. Two hundred million dollars worth of the productions of labor must be sold to raise money to pay the interest. The bondholder is not taxed on the bonds, he produces no part of the money paid him by the government as interest unless he be engaged in other pursuits or owns other property than bonds, subject to taxation.

The estimate as nearly as we can approximate to exactness is that six millions of the male population of the United States perform all the labor. That is to say, by applying the labor of six millions of the male population to the capital of the nation, the six millions are enabled to produce sufficient for their own support and a surplus sufficient to support the remainder of the population. How support the remainder? Shall the laborer say to the non-producer, I will pay you in labor for the use of your non-productive capital a rate of rent that will enable you to live as well as I do, then after having performed a sufficient number of hours labor to give you that support, I shall appropriate the proceeds of whatever remaining hours I may choose to myself. Or shall capital say to labor you can work ten hours per day: six hours will support you and support the remainder of the population, but I will appropriate all of the four hours to my own use—this surplus I will control. Now the result as to adding to the wealth of the State might be the same as if the surplus was equitably divided between labor and capital. But unless the laborer is provided for when he becomes no longer able to labor, the result would be different in this, that capital had robbed the laborer during the time he could have laid up out of his surplus earnings a support for such a contingency. It is therefore a wrong system of political economy that fixes the minimum price of simple labor, or uneducated labor at a standard that will not enable a man and his wife by their joint labor to support themselves and raise two children until they are capable of earning a support, and besides lay up sufficient for a support after they are no

longer able to labor. If the rate of wages is at a lower standard, population will decrease. But it often happens that the laborer has six or eight children to raise; if the standard of wages will only enable him to support himself and wife, and two children, the remainder must perish, or he perish in his efforts to preserve them. But the main question now is, can the bonded debt be liquidated in a manner that will relieve the laborer from payment of the annual interest without doing injustice to the bondholder. It is admitted on all hands that it is the laborer who pays the interest.

It will not be denied that if the government could by any legitimate means procure a sufficient amount of gold delivered at the mint, the same could be coined into money and with that money the bonds could be paid, this would stop the interest. But the government cannot obtain that material to make into money at a less cost than the amount of the bonded debt. In other words, in order to preserve that amount of gold the government would be obliged to tax the labor of the country to the amount of the debt.

And this narrows the question down to this point:

Has Congress the power to declare that any other material than gold or silver may be used in making lawful money? I have heretofore stated what the constitution declares, "that the Congress shall have power to coin money, or regulate the value thereof." But the constitution does not state of what material money shall be coined.

We therefore find that Congress has ordered money to be made of five different substances, to wit: gold, silver, nickel, copper and paper. Lawful money has been made by laws of Congress, and those five different substances used. If we examine the gold money, we find coined or stamped on a piece of gold the figure of an Eagle, and around it these words, "the United States of America. 10 dollars. On the other side the word "Liberty." Upon silver the same figure and words are stamped: "The United States of America. One dollar." Upon copper is stamped the "United States of America. One cent." On nickel is the same stamp, five cents. Paper is printed or stamped with a die in the same manner as on metal, but the expression differs in this. On paper are these words, "The United States promise to pay one dollar or 100 dollars. This implies that some other kind of dollar is to be exchanged at the necessary department for the paper dollar. But that is not so. The paper dollar is lawful money, is a legal tender and represents the same value as the dollar made silver, or the five cents on nickel. Now the same power that stamped on paper the words "promise to pay" could leave those words off as on the metal dollar. If the figure of the Eagle and the words "The United States of America" on one side and "Liberty" on the other, put on pieces of metal by authority of a law of Congress, constitute such pieces of metal money, which were not money before that power was imparted to it by law, can't the same words and figures, by the same authority, be stamped on paper or any other convenient material, thereby imparting to such material all the properties and powers of money that have been given to pieces of metal—to wit: "power to represent Value, power to measure Value, power to accumulate Value by interest, and power to exchange Value." "The material of money is a legalized agent employed to express these powers and render them available in trade." It was

the money Congress had made which was collected and concentrated in the hands of individuals who loaned it back to the government, mostly in paper money, and took the government's promises to pay at a discount, averaging 40 per cent. One promise to pay not bearing interest was exchanged for another promise to pay that does bear interest. Now, when the government ascertained that there was not money enough in the country to save the life of the nation, it would have been proper to have made a sufficient quantity of lawful money by stamping on paper or any other material the same figures, devices and words that are put on gold, silver, nickel and copper to make those substances lawful money. If the properties of money had been lawfully imparted to paper so as to constitute it money, not promises to pay, no redeeming clause expressed or intimated.* If such a policy had been pursued there would be no national debt now, and one half of the amount that has been issued on promises to pay, would have answered if it had been issued as money.

But we say it is not too late to correct the mistake that has been made. When the bonds are redeemable let the government notify the holder to call and receive the money; at the same time notify him that the government will no longer act as his agent in collecting by taxation, interest. He may hold the bond if he will, but interest must stop after a tender has been made.

Now, what right has the bondholder to complain? Clearly the government has the right to pay the bond if it choose to do so, and by what authority can the bondholders decide what is lawful money? When the government says to the bondholder, we promised to pay you in lawful money, here it is. Here is lawful money, some of it is made of gold, some of silver, some of copper and nickel and some of paper, all possessing the same legal power, all shall have the same power to pay a judgment, to pay for the public lands; all is alike receivable for debt due the government. Can the bondholder complain, if there is not gold enough, that he is paid in paper money, his bond is written on paper that has no intrinsic value, yet it is a mortgage on all the property of the nation. But the paper money is a better mortgage, because, it being a mortgage on all the property of the government, it is also a mortgage on all the property, public and private, in the nation that is for sale, and the holder of the money can have the title of any property in the nation that is for sale transferred to him. If A holds ten thousand dollars of lawful money and contracts with B to purchase B's farm for ten thousand dollars to be paid in lawful money, under such a contract B will not be permitted to decide what kind of money is lawful.

* We like to keep it steadily in mind that after paper money has been made a legal representative of real value it is impossible to regulate the rate of interest without a means being always provided for funding with an interest-bearing obligation any surplus that may exist. As we have said, money has the practical offices of purchasing property and being lent on interest, and so long as it can fulfil either of these functions it must continue good. The provision by the government of interest-bearing bonds, always ready to absorb any redundancy of the circulating medium, will maintain the money, however abundant it may be, in the performance of its offices, and prevent a depreciation of its value. It is essential that money should be convertible, or we might say redeemable, but it is not essential that it should be convertible into gold or any other specific commodity; all that is indispensable is that somebody shall always be ready to sell property for it or to borrow it and pay interest. The money of civilized nations is in every form a credit, and it must be so instituted as to command confidence in order to have a purchasing power.

—Ed. Rev.

If he refuse to take that which Congress has declared to be lawful money, a court will decree the title to the former out of B and vest it in A. B would not, however, be obliged to accept a government bond in payment. Moreover, the bondholder has no cause for complaint if the government refuses longer to act as his agent in collecting interest. He can loan his money and be his own agent or employ one, or he can invest it in useful purposes.

This will be the effect of the Cary bill, should it become the law governing our monetary system and in liquidating the national debt. I say it would be the effect to the bondholder. But the effect on the laboring and producing classes would be incalculably greater. It would give the people as much money as they need. The talk about inflating the currency, making too much money, betrays a degree of ignorance which proves that the persons who so talk have never understood the subject. The government will not pay money except to those who have earned it, and it can nowhere be had without giving value for it. If all the money in the country is *lawful* money, and so secured that it can never fail to be lawful money, how can harm result to any one from having even more money than he can use? He must get it honestly and for value exchanged for it. It never can spoil on his hands, and if he can find no better use for it, he can, under the Cary bill, put it into a bond bearing interest, with the privilege of taking it out again whenever he pleases.

It appears to me that unless our monetary system can be changed, our republic will become an aristocracy. A change can only be brought about by educating the masses, and this must devolve on the National Labor Congress. The whole subject is fully mastered now, and all that is wanting is to push it vigorously. The positions taken by the Labor Congress are impregnable, they cannot be controverted. But it will take time and work to get the masses to comprehend the situation and to know the power that is in their hands.

There is a tendency now everywhere to adopt the Co-operative Labor System and if the Financial question was on the proper basis, co-operative labor would go into operation as a consequence without any legislation. There is a splendid illustration of the Co-operative System in the Pennsylvania Central Railroad, it was built on that principle.

Our United States Senator John B. Henderson let slip a few days ago what everybody knew before, but nobody expected any Senator belonging to his party would admit. He said, "the bondholder runs Congress." If the funding bill that was slipped through Congress on the last day of the session, I believe, but not signed by the President, becomes a law, then the bondholder will not only run Congress but run every other department of the government and of trade and commerce, by concentrating the control of all the money of the nation into few hands and continuing to have a mixed currency. Issue lawful money, so declared by law, but the amount of lawful money limited by law, to the quantity of gold coin in circulation, this will enable the bankers who hold bonds to keep so wide a margin between gold and the money of trade as to afford them a living, forced by a law of Congress, out of the labor of the producing classes. This is what the bondholder and the bankers see, and what our Congressmen do not see.

When a man has amassed wealth so as to give him power that by the use of his wealth he can do what he pleases, he will be sure, unless his

philosophy is sound, that is to say, all his actions radiating from a sound stand point, and converging back to that centre, to become arrogant, overbearing, dictatorial and tyrannical; he will assume to be wiser than any one else who possesses less of this world's goods than himself. Such a person or a combination of a few such persons possessing the power of wealth can control society as they please, can, to a great extent, compel those depending on their whims for a support, to become their vassals. Such a man is lost according to the teachings of the Gospel. God sometimes, we are informed, takes pity on such a person and rescues him, restores him to himself and for an example to society. How does God rescue such a person? He lays his hand upon him, strikes him down with sickness and destroys or takes away his property, gives him time for reflection and to see himself, by that means he is rescued and becomes a man again. The remedy is often like the knife of the surgeon, painfully keen and severe, but sure to heal. Now, it appears to me that our system of legislation in regard to money is unsound and that nothing but the surgeon's knife can alter it by cutting out the disease. How is this to be done? The bondholder runs Congress. Who shall run the bond holder? is now the question to be met. The ballot must decide. But the bondholder runs the ballot, without the masses appearing to know it. Who is to educate the masses to a correct understanding of their true interests? Such men as Edward Atkinson may do it, but he must argue from a different stand point than that he has assumed in his pamphlet. If he will study the question from sound premises, he appears to have ability enough to come to correct conclusions, but he never can build a good house on a bad foundation. If he will turn in and assist the National Labor Congress in the work they have begun, he may, with his seeming sprightly intellect, do much good, but I hope he will cease to recommend his fallacies as set forth in his pamphlet.

JNO. MAGWIRE

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 30, 1868.

SEVEN PER CENT. INTEREST IN GOLD

The First Mortgage Seven per Cent. Sinking Fund Bonds of the Rockford, Rock Island and St. Louis Railroad Company, pay both Principal and Interest in GOLD COIN, FREE OF GOVERNMENT TAX.

Each Bond is for \$1,000 or \$2,000 Sterling, and is convertible into stock at the option of the holder. The coupons are payable Feb. 1st and Aug. 1st, in New York or London, at the option of the holder.

The Road runs from Rockford in Northern Illinois to St. Louis, a distance including tracks to Coal Mines, etc., of about 400 miles, and traverses the finest district of Illinois.

The Bonds have 50 years to run, and are a lien of \$21,000 per mile upon the Company's railroad franchises, in coal-lands—of which it has 20,000 acres containing A HUNDRED MILLION TONS OF COAL—its rolling stock, and property of every sort.

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Nearly half the entire length of the road is graded and substantially ready for the iron; the rails are now arriving upon the line. The first division, giving an outlet to the coal, will be in operation in 60 days, and track-laying will

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The Bonds are for sale at 97½ and accrued interest in currency, and may be obtained through bankers and brokers throughout the country, or at the office of the Company, 12 WALL STREET, New York.

The trustees for the Bondholders is the UNION TRUST COMPANY of New York.

Pamphlets giving full information sent on application.

H. H. BOODY, Treasurer.

THE MONEY MARKET

at the close of the week was easy, loans being made on governments at 4 to 5 per cent. and on other collaterals at 5 to 6 per cent. The weekly bank statement is considered favorable. The legal tenders are increased the large amount of \$12,133,251, and deposits \$8,939,751. The loans are increased \$2,971,524, and the specie \$1,178,145, adding to their legal reserved this week \$13,311,396 in legal tenders and specie.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks compared with the preceding week:

	Nov. 14.	Nov. 21.	Differences
Loans,	\$249,119,539	\$251,901,063	Inc. \$2,971,524
Specie,	16,153,098	17,331,153	Inc. 1,178,145
Circulation,	34,249,564	34,195,068	Dec. 54,496
Deposits,	175,150,533	184,110,340	Inc. 8,939,751
Legal-tenders,	51,463,043	63,599,944	Inc. 12,133,251

THE GOLD MARKET

was irregular during the week, and weaker at the close.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Monday, 16,	135½	137	135½	136½
Tuesday, 17,	136½	136½	134½	134½
Wednesday, 18,	134½	135½	133½	135½
Thursday, 19,	131½	135	134½	134½
Friday, 20,	134½	135	134½	134½
Saturday, 21,	131½	134½	134½	134½

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

was steady at the close, prime bankers 60 days sterling bills were quoted 109½ to 109¾, and sight 109¾ to 110¾. Francs on Paris bankers long 5.17½ to 5.18½ and short 5.15 to 5.13½.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was excited and irregular in the early part of the week, owing to the clique operations in Erie, but the general market improved and was steady at the close upon the publication of the bank statement.

Musgrave & Co., 19 Broad street, report the following quotations:

Cumberland 40 to 40½; W. F. & Co., 26½ to 27; American, 41½ to 42; Adams, 47½ to 47¾; U. States, 44 to 45; Merchants Union, 19 to 19½; Quicksilver, 23½ to 24; Canton, 48 to 49½; Pacific Mail, 115½ to 116; W. U. Tel., 36½ to 36¾; N. Y. Central, 124 to 124½; Erie, 40½ to 41; do. preferred, 63 to 66; Hudson River, 128 to 128½; Reading, 99 to 99½; Wabash, 57 to 58; Mil. & St. P. 65½ to 65¾; do. preferred, 84½ to 84¾; Fort Wayne, 109½ to 109¾; Ohio & Miss., 39½ to 41; Mich. Central, 117 to 119; Mich. South, 83½ to 89; Ill. Central, 141 to 144; Pittsburg, 87½ to 87¾; Toledo, 100½ to 101; Rock Island, 106½ to 107; North West, 85½ to 85¾; do. preferred, 87½ to 88; B. W. Power, 14 to 16; B. H. & Erie, 27 to 28; Atlantic Mail, 20 to 25; Bk's & B. As., 105 to 106; Mariposa, 6 to 7; do. preferred, 21 to 22.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were dull and irregular in the early part of the week but more active towards the close than for some time past.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

Reg. 1831, 112½ to 112¾; Coupon, 1831, 113½ to 113¾; Reg. 5-20, 1862, 103 to 106½; Coupon, 5-20, 1862, 103½ to 103¾; Coupon, 5-20, 1831, 108½ to 106¾; Coupon, 5-20, 1865, 106½ to 106¾; Coupon, 5-20, 1865, Jan. and July, 109½ to 109¾; Coupon, 5-20, 1867, 09½ to 109¾; Coupon, 5-20, 1868, 109½ to 110;

Coupon, 10-40, Reg., 103 1/4 to 103 1/2 : 10-40 Coupon, 104 1/4 to 104 1/2 : Pacific, 98 1/4 to 99.

THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week were \$1,811,000 in gold against \$1,713,000, \$1,977,000 and \$2,084,097 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$3,637,355 in gold against \$3,594,524, \$3,353,311, and \$3,611,663 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were \$3,775,896, in currency against \$2,943,195, \$3,121,997, and \$3,339,694 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were \$22,100 against \$262,050, \$264,899, and \$1,071,407 for the preceding weeks.

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